

AN ANSWER MADE
BY
S^r. ROBERT COTTON,
at the command of
PRINCE HENRY,
to *Certain Propositions* of
WARRE and PEACE,
Delivered to his HIGHNESS by
some of his Military Servants.

Whereunto is adjoyned
THE
FRENCH CHARITY;
OR

An *Essay* written in *French* by an *English* Gentleman, upon occasion of Prince *Harcourt's* coming into ENGLAND;

And translated into English by F. S. J. E.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Sheares*, at the Bible in
S. Paul's Church-yard, Anno 1655.



1

PROPOSITIONS
OF
WARRE and PEACE

Delivered to his Highness
PRINCE HENRY
by some of his Military servants.

Arguments for Warre.

F*Rames* of Policy, as well as works of Nature, ^a are best preserved from ^a*Pansa et Hir-* the same grounds they were first ^{tii consilium} founded on. By *Armes* was layd the ^{Casari.} foundation of this State, whether we respect the *Saxon* or the *Norman*. It was Warre that of seven Crowns in the *Heptarchy* made one fit for that *Monarchy*, that since by many glorious exploits hath made good in forreign parts the renown of her own greatnesse, and crowned thereby this State with an eternall peace. Times nor our owne vertues are not changed: Necessity, Benefit, and Facility of Warre being the same that they were before to our forefathers.

B

We

Reasons for forraign wars.

a Velleius
Paterculus.

Reasons of
forraign
War drawn
from

1, Necessity, for

1 Preser-
vation of
our own
peace.

2 Venting
of factious
spirits.

We never were so near peril by shipwrack in any tempest abroad, as at home by the calm government of *Henry* the sixth. For *France* by the awfull hand of his father reduced, it fared with us as with the mistress of the world, a *Remota Carthaginis metu, et Imperii amula*, when the fear of *Carthage* her competitor for the Empire was removed, that fell not by degrees, but *Præcipiti cursu ab Armis ad voluptates, à negotio ad otium*, rushed headlong from arms to pleasures, from employment to idleness. And from hence as greatest Nations, *cum ab externis causis tuta videntur, ipsa suis viribus onerantur*, when there is no longer fear of forreign enemies, their own strength becomes a burthen to them: so after many conquests abroad, we were at home prest down with the unnatural weight of civil armes: For *cum foris non habent hostem, domi inveniunt*, when people have no enemies abroad, they'll find some at home; as all warlike & fruitful Nations will, not otherwise delivered either of their humours or people. To add to this necessity, the sending away of our factious spirits, it will remove the seat of blood from our own doors,

Reasons for forraign wars.

3

doors, and prove the cheapest school to train up in armes the better dispositions, whose military skill may after serve to defend the State; and by the late accession of another Nation will be now more needful, *Ne novus populus otio et nimia pecunia lasciviret*, lest that other people should grow wanton through too much wealth and idlenesse, and we in the end be enforced with the Satyrist ^b to confesse

Nunc patimur longa pacis mala, savior armis

Luxuria incubuit.

We suffer now the harm of a long peace,

Whilst Riot, worse then war, doth thus increase,

^b In *venal.*

3 Instructing in arms our people;

1 Necessary, for

Reasons of for-
raign Warre
drawn
from

1 Spoil of the Enemy.
2 Addition of Revenue by subjected territories.

1 Title.
2 Dominion.

1 Wealth, by 2 Honour, by addition of

2 Benefits.

The benefis arise from Profit and Honour. The Spoils we have brought away in our French & Spanish attempts exceeding ever the charge in getting; and the Revenues of the subjected Signories, as Normandy, Aquitain, &c. supporting with much advantage the expence in keeping: Our Honour, as the Stile of our Kings, by confluence of so many Titles increased; and by accession of so many territories as we held in France, our dominions and liberties so far enlarged.

Reasons of
forraign
War drawn
from

3 A more facility
to effect then
heretofore, by

1 Addition of new
strength.
2 Substraction of di-
versions.

The facility to effect this
being now more then ever
by the addition of strength,
and substraction of diver-
sions, in this happy union
of the *Britain Empire*.



AN ANSWER
TO THE
FORMER
Arguments made by the command
OF HIS
HIGHNESSE.

AS he can give best Rules to pre-
serve the health of a body naturall,
that by observing the divers humours,
accidents and dispositions thereof,
findeth at length the cause from
whence it is or well or ill-affected, and so by
mixture of Art and Observation sets to his Pa-
tient rules of exercise and dyet: so is it in a
Kingdome or Commonwealth. If then out of the
Registers of Record and Story, the true Remem-
brancers of Art and Errour in passages of State,
it shall appear that those times which have been
glori-

1 Affections
of our wisest
Princes ever
to peace.

1 Rebellions
at home.

2 Forraign expeditions

2 Cause of

1 Endless
taxations

2 Vassa-
lage.

3 Danger
to the
State.

3 Confe-
deracy &
alliance
the means
of former
victories,
no waies
to be re-
stored as
hereto-
fore,

glorified with the mightiest
Princes and wisest Councells,
would ever acknowledge that
^a*Pax una triumphis Innume-*^{a Sil Ital.}
ris potior; one Peace outgoes ^{lib. xi.}
for worth Innumerable tri-
umphs; That Combustions at
home were like Meteors, ever
kindled in another Region,
but spent themselves there;
That our men instead of *Law-
rell* and *Olive garlands* to a-
dorn with victory & peace our
gates and Temples, have ever
brought home fire-balls to
burn our Cities; That for-
reign spoils have been sum-
med up with *Taxes* and *Pe-
nury*; That this addition of
Revenue hath tyed us to a per-
petuall issue of our own
Treasure; That by these titles
of *Honour* we have bought
Slavery, and by *extenture*
of *Territories*, Danger; And
that difficulty either to un-
dertake or pursue any forreign
enterprise now is much more
then in any age before; I
think that no *Englishman*
will either love his own er-
rour so much, or his Country
so little, as to advise a course
so far estranged either from
judgement or security.

Answers to the former Arguments.

Examples of
the affection
of our Kings
successively
to Peace,

a *Benedictus
Monachus in
vita H. 2.*

b *Ex Matth.
Paris pag. 214*

c *Reg. Hov-
den.*

d *Ex additam.
Prosperi A-
quitania E-
pisc.*

e *Rot. Claus.
anno secundo
E. 3 m. II.*

IT is manifest by warrant of our own exam-
ples, that the kings of *England*, (except in some
heat of Youth, which is not the best directour of
Counsell) preferred unjust Peace before the just-
est War: none intrhalling their minds with am-
bitious desires of extending *Territories*, or imagi-
nary humours of licentious Sovereignty; every
one willing to passe his time with content of his
private fortunes. Upon this ground *Henry* the se-
cond gave 20000. marks *Expensarum nomine*,
under the notion of expences, to the *French* king,
ut firmior Pax haberetur, that he might have a
firm and settled Peace. His succeeding sonne *pro
quieta clamazione de sorore sua ducenda*, for a
peaceable claim to the marriage of his sister, which
was like to make a fraction, gave to the *French*
King *decem millia librarum*, ten thousand
pounds. Three hundred thousand marks *John*
gave to the *French* king, to match his calme en-
trance to a secure peace. Until the confederacy
with *Scotland*, and invading of the land by
Charls de Valoys the *French* king provoked
Edward the first, he never disquieted *France*
with noyse of war, as after he did by the *Earls*
of *Richmond* and *Lancafter*, although *Boniface*
the Pope incited him thereunto. His Sonne, the
second *Edward*, anno 20. requireth the Bishops
and Clergy to pray and offer alms for him, and
the people of this State; the words are, *ut Deus
nos regat et dirigat in mundi hujus turbini-
bus*, that God would rule and direct us in the
troubles of this world; for that having sought all
means with *France* he could for Peace, *ut Guer-
rarum discrimina vitaret*, that he might avoid
the dangers of war, he reaped nothing but bitter-
nesse, and detention of his Messengers, Son, and
part

part of his *Dutchy of Gascoigne*, his Rebels in-
 joying all Protection, and his Merchants all In-
 hospitality, whose ships his enemy *hostiliter ce-
 pit, et Mercatores interfecit*, took in a hostile
 sort, and slew the Merchants. The Parliament
 quinto of Edward 3.^a was especially called to a
 consult how Peace might be procured. In his 17.
 year ^b the Peers and Commons petition him to
 labour a peace with *France*, and to sollicite the
 Pope for mediation. The truce from hence ef-
 fected he would by no meanes violate, but in the
 20th. year moveth peace by all the offers he ^c can,
 as *Contracts, Intermariage*, and to take up
 the Crosse with *France*, in *succursum Terra
 Sancta*, for succour of the Holy Land. But all he
 could do could abate no whit of the *French* fury,
^d who invaded by themselves *Aquitain, England*
 by the *Scots*, surprizing in breach of Truce his
 Nobility of *Britain*, whom at *Paris ignomi-
 niosa morti tradidit*, he put to shamefull deaths;
 there and in *Gascoign* murdering the rest of
 his Subjects, and rasing his Castles, nor would
 upon a second mediation admit any way of peace.
 War then was left his last refuge; ^e *Et pia Arma*
quibus nulla nisi in Armis spes est, War is to
 that man just and lawfull, who hath no hope of
 help but by war. And this his Clergy was injoy-
 ned to open in sermons, that he might eschew
 the infamy of *Christian* blood-shed. In his two
 and twentieth year finding war to have brought
 to his people ^f *gravia onera et multa mala*,
 heavy burthens and many mischiefs, as the Re-
 cord saith, and that the fortune of war *cum
 splendet frangitur*, when it shineth clearest is
 then nearest breaking; he passed over into *France*
 to seek peace divers times; and to strengthen his

a Ex Rot. Par.

anno 5. E. 3.

n. r.

b Ex Rotul.

Parlanno 17.

E. 3.

c Ex Rotul.

Francia an.

19. m. 10.

d Ex Rot.

Clas. in der-

so 20. E. 3.

m. 16. part. i. aq

e Liv. ub. 9.

f Ro Clas.

ann. Ed 3.

affections with the best hopes, he injoyneeth all
 a *Dorſ. clauſ.* the Biſhops of England to offer^a *devotas pre-*
an. 22. E. 3. *ces ſuppliciter ad Deum*, humble and devout
 m. 11. prayers to God, to direct his actions to Gods
Similiter 8. glory and the peace of his Country, *nec non ad*
R. 2. clauſ. *totius Chriſtianitatis commodum*, and the ad-
 m. 34. vantage of the whole Chriſtian world; which he
 believed could not follow but by a firm amity
 with his neighbours. This is the diſlike of war he
 openeth himſelf in the five & twentieth year^b in
 b *Rot. Parl.* Parliament, declaring the great means he had
 anno 25. E. 3. wrought by the *Pope*, but could not effect it: And
 c *Rot. Parl.* in the third year after^c calleth again the body of
 anno 28. E. 3. the State, to deviſe with him the means to obtain
 it; for that he ſaw his Subjects by war ſo greatly
 d *Rot. Parl.* waſted. But^d when anno 29. to redeem himſelf
 anno 29. E. 3. and ſubjects from the hard tasks they had under-
 taken, and to avoyd *effuſionem ſanguinis Chri-*
ſtiani, quantum potuit, vel decuit, pacem queſi-
vit, the ſhedding of Chriſtian blood, he ſought
 peace as much as in him lay, and as far as was
 fitting, ſending the Duke of *Lancaſter* to *Avi-*
gnon in interceſſion, but all in vain; he ſtood upon
 his own ſtrength. By which his confident adver-
 ſary (the year following captive) that was afore
 obdurate, juſtly found, that one houre can over-
 throw *ſimul parta et ſperata decora*, at once
 both the honours we enjoy and thoſe we hope
 for. And we may truly conclude of this Kings
 ſucceſſe, as *Livy*^e of the *Romane* fortune, *Prop-*
terea bella felicia geſſiſſe, quia juſta, that there-
 fore his wars were proſperous, becauſe they were
 juſt.
 e *Liv. l. 5.*
 Dec. 5. To obtain his deſire and Subjects quiet, he was
 f *Ex chart.*
origin. de re-
nunciat. in
Theſaur. contented to diſclaim^f the intereſt that Right and
 Fortune had caſt upon him. And after, though of-
 ten

ten again incited, yet never would be drawn to the hazard of war; for *improbe Neptunum accusat qui iterum naufragium facit*, he blames Neptune very unjustly who suffers shipwrack the second time: untill the French King ^a *contra juramentum & formam pacis*, contrary to his oath and the form of peace, had *vexillis explicatis* with banners displayed, invaded his dominions in France, and with a Fleet intended to attempt England, *ad ipsum Regem viribus subvertendum*, utterly to undo the King by force of Arms.

^a *Claus. anno 45.E.3.*

Richard the second, whom as well he left Successour to his troubles as to his kingdome, entred in the decline of his Grandfires fortune, and after many years of war and much losse, had in the end an expectation of peace; which opened to his Commons and Councel in Parliament, ^b their longing affection was so much inclined thereto, that they advised the King, though it were in doing homage for Guien, Callis and the rest, he should not let slip that opportunity.

^b *Rot. Parl. anno 7. R.2. n. 17.*

Untill Charles of France had received ^c that dangerous Rebell Owen Glendowr, by the name of *Metuendissimi Principis Wallia*, the most dread Prince of Wales, into a strict confederacy against his Master (whom he vouchsafed no other title then *Henricus de Lancastris*) by contract, and had harrowed the Isle of Wight by the Duke of Orleans and Earl of Saint Paul, entred into Gascoign himself, and prepared a Fleet and an Army to invade this land, Henry the fourth did never disquiet his peace; and after many prorogued Truces, would not break out again, untill Burgundy ^d (that had wrested into his hand the Government of France) meant

^c *Ex contrah. origin. inter Owinum Glendowr et Regem Francie.*

^d *Rot. Parl. anno 11. Hen. 4. n. 2.*

with

with all his force to besiege *Calis*, and annoy this Realm.

^a Rot. Parl. The uncle and Chancellour to *Henry* the
^{an. 4 Hen. 5.} fifth declared in a Parliament the desire his Master had to procure Peace, and how the *French* King had refused all reason, denying to render his prisoners, or ransom those taken at *Agincourt* battell: so that the King was driven to his last hope, which was by dint of sword to seek his peace, concluding thus his speech; *Bella faciamus ut Pacem habeamus, quia finis Belli Pax est*: Let us fight, that we may obtain peace; for the end of war is peace.

^b Rot. Parl. *Henry* the sixth, to save the expence of his people and treasure, offered ^b many large and liberal conditions, but received in exchange nothing but scoffes: he was contented to part with the Duchy of *Mayne*, to make up a peace with his uncle of *France*.
^{anno 14. H. 6.}
^{n. 2.}

^c Ex Artic. in Consilio contra *D. Somerset.* Against the Duke of *Somerset* it was objected ^c by the Duke of *York*, that he (contrary to the Oath and Councell, by breaking the Amity between the two Princes) was the only ground of the losse of *Normandy*.

^d Int. Record. There is extant in the Treasury ^d a petition of 9.
^{1 p. f. westm.} of *Hen. 7.* from the Captains and military men, *pro pace habenda*, that they might have peace.

^e Ex Bulla Pap. H. 8. Neither interest of right, nor jealousie of increasing power, could draw *Henry* the 8. unto the quarrell of *France*; until the Church complained against *Lewis* the 12. (^e who neither esteeming of God, good fame, nor conscience, detained the revenues of the Clergy, supported the Cardinall *Will'am* to aspire to the *Papacy*, aided in the siege of *Boncy* *Alfonso* of *Ferrara*, and the *Bentivoglio*, both Traytours to the *Papall* Sea, where he

he intended to lay the foundation of his Empire to usurp all *Italy*, & besought him for the pittie of our *Saviour*, and by the virtue of his famous Ancestours (for I use the words of the *Popes* Briefe) a that never forsook the Church of God in distresse, and by his filiall obedience, (the strongest bond) to enter into that holy *League*, they having elected him against *Lewis*, *Caput foederis Italici*, Head of the *Italian League*.

^a *Ex tractatu origin. in l. B. 266.*

Edward the sixth, ^b until urged with the touch of his honour, being by his neighbours neglected in the marriage of their Mistresse, never attempted any war against them.

^b *Ex proclama. E. 6. de expeditione contra Scotos.*

The quarrells of *France* in the time of his succeeding sister, after the marriage with *Spaine*, were neither properly ours, nor begun by us, although in the end we onely went away with the losse.

Her Sister of holy memory, to effect the peace with *France*, forbore ^c the demand of *Callis* for 8. years, & neglected to urge a just debt of four millions from that Crown. ^d And the labours she spent to confirm amity with *Spaine*, by many friendly offices of mediation, are apparent to the whole world; though in the end of her desires she failed: whether happily in prevention of the *Spanish Monarchy* eternizing her memory, or that this work of peace was by divine providence reserved for him that could and hath best effected it, I know not. Onely I conclude, that as the first Monarch in *Rome*, so the first in *Britain* might justly write, *Pace Populo Britanno terra marique parata, Ianum clausi*, having settled *Britain* in peace by land and sea, I have shut up the doors of *Ianus Temple*.

^c *Ex tract. Cambrense 1569.*

^d *Ex proclam. anno 3. Eliz.*

For-
reign
armes
the
ground
of trou-
ble at
home,
by the

Enemy,
who to
divert
will at-
tempt.

Subjects

wearied
with } Toyl.
Taxa-
tion.

Feared with
the effect of
tyranny.

Inured to wars
can never sute
after to a quiet
life.

It is evident by our own examples, that for the most part, the Civil or Forreign Armies that have oppressed this State, have been either bred out of our first attempting of others, or out of the grievance of the Nobility & people, either wearied with the toil and charge, or feared with the effect of Tyranny, which might corrupt the good fortune of their King, or else (a plague no lesse of war) that the better sort inured to command abroad, have forgotten to obey at home, and the inferiour by living there upon rapine and purchase, unwilling here to tye themselves again to order and industry.

Examples of
Invasion
drawn from
the attempts
of others.

There is in the Register of State no time that so well expresseth either the danger or damage we underwent in waging an adversary, as that of *Edward* the third. Out of many examples I will select some few, beginning with the tenth of his reign; at what time his intention was to attempt somewhat in *France*, but diverted by *Philip*, who, mustering in *partibus Britannia ad invadendum Regnum Anglia*, in the parts of *Britany* to invade the Kingdome of *England*, a puissant Army, enforced *Edward* the third to fall from his first purpose, and insist upon his own guard: for which cause, to the infinite charge of himself and people, he levied 80000. men out

Ex Rot. Scotie
anno 10. E. 3.
m. 14.

out of the Shires of this Kingdome. To withdraw his forces from *France*, in the thirteenth of his reigne, they invaded the Realm, and burned the Towns of *Plymouth* and *Southampton*, places that suffered from the same motive the like calamity.

In the first of *Richard* the second, after the Battell of *Cressy*, when they feared our too much footing, and we too much believed our own fortune, for she *cito reposcit quod dedit*, quickly calls for back what she gave us; the a Duke of a *Rot. Parl.* *Normandy*, to draw home our forces, levieth an Army of forty thousand men at armes, and forty thousand foot, sharing by idle contracts before-hand with his confederates not the spoils only, but the Kingdome it self: the Honour and some other portion of benefits he reserved as his own meed; the possessions of many *English* Subjects in pure alms he voweth to the Church of *Normandy*, and to the *French* King an yearly tributary Fee of twenty thousand pound. In these termes this Realm stood almost all the time of *Edward* the third.

The Coast-dwellers were so frightened from their habitation, as in the thirteenth year the king commanded the Earle of *Richmond*^b and other ^{b *Rot. Franc.*} Peers to reside at their border houses; and was ^{*in dorso.* 22.} enforced in the two and twentieth to injoyn by ^{*E.3.m.6.*} Ordinance, that none should remove that dwelt within *sex leucas à mari*, six leagues of the sea.

It was no whit altered under his successour *Richard* the second; for in his entrance the *French* burnt the Town of *Rye*, and in the third year after *Gravesend*. And in the tenth year of his reigne, to change his intended journey for *France* in per-

person, the *French* King prepareth an Army to invade this land. This quarrel led us almost into an eternal charge at sea, and in the Northern limits, they and our neighbours there being tyed of old in strict assurance of mutual aid: by whose desperate and perpetual incursion (for *nescit Plebs jejuna timere*, an half-starved rabble fears nothing,) the fatteest parts of our borders were left wast, the men and cattel of *England* (as 16. of *Edw. 2.*) *impetus Scotorum fugientes*, being fled for safety to the Forrests and desert places. The like I find in the first of *Edward* the third: they ever thus interrupting us in our expeditions into *France*; as in 20. *Ed. 3.* in the first and second of *Richard* the second, in the fifth of *Henry* the fifth, and in the fourth of *Henry* the eighth, when he undertook his holy voyage against *Lewis* the twelfth.

And either being no lesse ready to nourish the least spark of rebellion in this State, as that of the *French* King to counterpoize King *Iohn*; or work out *Henry* the third from his *Dutchy* of *Normandy*, as *France* did; or moving underhand by the *Duke* of *Britain*, the *Earl* of *Hartford* to reach the Crowne of *Richard* the second, and when he had got the garland, suborning *Owen Glendowr* (with whom he contracted as *Prince* of *Wales*) to busie the same King at home, that he might divert his intended purpose from *France* or *Scotland*.

Nobilitie in
dislike of for-
reign expe-
ditions have
rebelled.

When *Henry* the third had devoured in his mind the kingdome of *Sicily*, the Nobility finding the expence of Treasure, and fearing the exposing of their own persons, grew so unwilling, that by the bent and course of the record it appeareth

a appeareth not the least ground of that rebellion^a *Ex Rot.*
which after drew the King and his Son to so *par. & claus.*
foul conditions. *de annis*

A judgment there must be between powers and *40, 41, 42.*
undertakings, that though affections may carry *Hen. 3.*

a man to great things, they make him not attempt impossible: for where great minds are not accompanied with great judgements, they overthrow themselves. As in this Prince, who by the Popes incitement *simplicitatem Regis circum-*
veniens, circumventing the King in his honest meaning, (they are the words of the Authour b) *b Comines*
intending to rife the fortunes of others, was in *censura de*
the end inforced to play at dice for his own stake. *com. char.*

The Earls of Hartford, Bohun and Bigot, *cap. 3.*
made the grounds of their commotions the distast they took at Edward the first for exacting their Service in the quarrel of Gascoign, a foreign Country. And they might seem to have some colour to refuse, but in a more mannerly fashion, either attendance or charge in recovery or defence of Provinces in France, since so many consents in Parliament, as *c 20. of Rich. 2. 6.*
and 9. of Henry the fourth, the first and seventh of Henry the fifth affirm the Commons not to be bound *pour supporter ses Guerres en la terre de France ou Normandie*, to support his wars either in France or Normandy; declaring no less by publick protestation, then they did by undutifull denial. *c Ex Rot. Parl. de annis 20. R. 2. 6. et 9. Hen. 4. 1. et 7. H. 5.*

For the burden of Charge, it was no lesse distastfull then the former of Service, this kingdome being (as it is sayd^d of the Roman Provinces occasioned by war) made desert, and the people desperate by Exactions. In the Conquerours time *Burthen of charge grievous, ground of much trouble and oppression.*

^d Cicero Epist. ad Att. lib. 5.

the

the Bishop of *Durham* was killed by the tumultuous people, opposing an imposition levyed by him. There was ^a *murmuratio et imprecatio* *Ex Radulpho Cogeshal. Pralatorum in Regem Ioannem*, mutterings and curses from the Prelates against King *John*, for demanding in the eighth of his reigne a relief of them and the Layety for his wars. In the 16th. year *Cives Londinenses Ioannem odio habuerunt pro injustis Exactionibus quibus Regnum fatigaverat*, the Londoners detested King *John* for his tiring out the Kingdome with unjust taxations. ^b The sink of his expence in war was so bottomlesse, that (as the story saith) he was constrained *deservire quotidie cum incremento*, to grow every day more unreasonable in his carriage towards the Church and Commonwealth, *eas bonis suis variis modis spoliando*, by despoiling them severall wayes of their goods. ^c *Hinc secutum est Bellum inter Regem et Barones quod cum morte Ioannis solum finem habuit*: This was it which kindled that war betwixt the King and his Barons, which nothing could quench but the death of *John* himself.

^a *Ex Radulpho Cogeshal. Pralatorum in Regem Ioannem*
^b *Ex Math. Westm.*

^c *Ex Math. Paris hist. minori.*

^d *Ex Math. Paris hist. ma. pag. 780.*

In the 26th. of Henry the third, *ob exactionum frequentiam est Regi cum Baronibus contentio*, by reason of the continuall exactions there arose a contention betwixt the King and his Barons ^d. At the Parlee of peace with them being demanded a reason of that their action, they answer that since he came to the Crown, being not twelve yeares, *multoties ei auxilium dederunt*, they had many times supplied him; and expressing the particulars besides in the same place, he had received *tot Escaetas*, so many Escheats, by the vacancy of rich *Bishopricks*, death of

of so many *Barons* and others that held of him, that those alone would have made him rich if they had been well imployed. That the *Itinerant Justices* had by amercing the defaults gleaned them so near, that *per illa Amerciament a et alia Auxilia prius data omnes de Regno ita gravarentur & depauperarentur, ut parum aut nihil haberent in Bonis*, by those Amercements & the Subsidies they had formerly given him, all the Kingdom was so crushed & impoverished, that they had little or nothing left them. And that was the ground of their resistance. ^a *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et alii Prelati resistunt Regi*, the Archbishop of ^a *Ex Joanne Eversden.* Canterbury and other Prelates resist the King, when in his fifteenth yeare he demanded *Scutage*. And although he laid open to the Parliament his great debt *causa bellica expeditionis in partibus transmarinis*, occasioned by his forreign expeditions, was answered by *Ranulph Earle of Chester*, the mouth of the Layety, That in the former Aides *Pecuniam suam effuderunt, quod inde pauperes omnes recesserunt, unde Regi de jure auxilium non debebant*, they had powred out their mony so liberally, as that being all impoverished by it, they were not obliged to assist him any farther. And thus he dissolved the Parliament. ^b *Ex hist.*

The Clergy of the Realm in the 24. of *Matth. Paris* Edward the first denied the demand of *Con-* ^{pag. 32.} *tribution* ^c *in expeditionem Regis contra Gallos et ad reprimendos Scotos*, towards the ^c *Ex Matth. Westm. Walt. Gisbourn.* Kings expedition against the French, and the repressing of the Scots. And *ob has crebras exactiones magnus fit tumultus inter Regem et Barones*, by reason of these frequent extorsions, there arose a great difference betwixt the King and the Barons.

One of the Articles of treason objected against
^a Rot. Claus. Mortimer ^a in Parliament 4. of Edward 3. was
 anno 1.E.3. the offence he bred in the Commonwealth, by
 causing a Subsidie to be exacted. This humour of
 the people did somewhat suit with that of the
^b Cassiodori Inhabitants of Trevers, ^b who stoned to death
 Var. Proclerus for perswading Theodoret the Goth
 to crave a Subsidy.

The Clergie in the 12. of Edw. 3. ^c deny such
^c Rot. Alm. a grant of their Wools as the Laiety had yield-
 m. 22. ed to, for supplying the King in his affairs of
 France. The like answer they make 44. of the
^d Tho. V^{al} same King, when he ^d demanded in Parliament
 singham. a Subsidy of them & the Commons of 100000l.
 Rot. Parl. And the same King grown doubtfull of his
 anno 44.E.3. people prest down with Impositions, requireth
^e Rot. Alm. the Archbishop, ^e *Quod cum Populus Regni sui*
 12. E.3.m.22 *variis Oneribus, Tallagiis & Impositionibus*
pragruetur, ut idem Archiepisc. Indulgentia-
rum muneribus, piis Exhortationibus, & aliis
modis, eundem Populum placare stuaeat, & i-
psum Regem excuset, that since the Subjects of
 his Kingdom were over-charged with many
 Burthens, Tallages, and other Impositions, the
 said Archbishop would by grant of Indulgences,
 seasonable Exhortations, & otherwaies endea-
 vour to pacify the people; and excuse the King.

By reason of the *Census per Capita*, Pol-
 mony imposed by Parliament 3. of Richard
 the second to defray the warres in France, there
^f Ex Rot. Parl. were ^f *dira imprecationes in Regem, & magna*
 de an. 2.3. *post perturbationes in Regno ex Plebis insur-*
 5.7.8. & 9. *rectione,* heavy and bitter imprecations against
 R.2. & Claus. the King, which were followed with great
 anno 8. E. 2. troubles in the nation by the insurrection of the
 Commons. And as well in the reign of this
 King,

King, as some other of his Predecessours and Successours, the Parliament was so tender in grant of Subsidy & other Taxes, that they added into their Act, ^a *quod non trahatur in consequentiam*, that it should be no example for the future, appointing peculiar Treasurers of their own to give account upon Oath the next Parliament: and such Grants, which they professed to proceed ^b *ex libera & spontanea voluntate Dominorum & Comitatum*, from the free & voluntary grant of the Lords and respective Counties, to be void if Conditions on the Kings part were not performed. And this unfortunate King had cast upon him as an argument of his unworthiness to govern, the exacting of so great Subsidies, and extorting so much money from the Shires that submitted their Fortunes unto his mercy.

And when Henry the 6. in anno 20. would have had a Relief from his Subjects ^c *de aliqua summa notabili*, of some considerable summe; he had in answer, *Propter inopiam, &c. populi illud non posse obrineri*, that in regard of the poverty, &c. of the people it could not be granted. The like 24. of the same King. Great men have been disposed sometimes to humour the waste of Treasure in their Princes, either to subject Power by Need to their devotion and awe, (for Princes dare most offend them whom they have least cause to use;) or to force Necessity to extend *Prærogative* so far, untill by putting all into Combustion, some may attain unto the end of their Ambition, others the redresse of supposed Injuries. ^d Thus did the Faction of ^e *Ex lib. Abbat. de Ramsey* Hen. the fourth in the one, and the Nobility under Hen. the third in the other; who hereby quitted the State oppressed (as they thought)

with the Kings Half-brothers, the *Poictouins* and other Strangers.

^a *Mat. Paris*
Hist. min.
^b *Ex Adam*
Merimouth
in vita Ed. 2.

Subjects feare to have the enemies of their Sovereigns too much weakned, least themselves become Tyrants. And it is in the farthest respect in the ^a *Baronage* under *John*, *Henry* his son, and ^b *Edward* the second, to feare asmuch the absolute Greatness of their Sovereign, as they did the *Diminution* of their own estates. And therefore when they found their King to grow too fast upon any neighbour Adversary, then would they lend their best aid to diminish his power or fortune; least by inlarging himself upon the other that poized his greatness, he might forget and become a Tyrant; as one saith of *Henry* the first, ^c *Assumpserat cornua audacia tam contra Ecclesiam quam Regni universalitatem, Roberto fratre et aliis inimicis edomitis*, having once overcome his brother *Robert* and other enemies, with audacious and presumptuous horns he goared as well the Church, as the rest of the Kingdome, breaking his Seal, his Charter, and his Oath.

^d *Mat. Paris*
Hist. majori.

The memory of this caused the Nobility ^d to call in the *French* Kings Son, when *John* their Sovereign began to know his own authority (as they thought) too much. And the *French* Subjects aided on the other side *Henry* the third against their *Mt.* when he was almost cooped up in his *Britain* journey. This (as the Stories report) being a practice usuall in those dayes.

Military Education
cause of
trouble in
the state.

THe last mischief is the disposition that Military education leaveth in the mindes of many; For it is not born with them that they
fo

so much distaste peace, but proceeds from that custome that hath made in them another nature.

It is rarely found that ever Civil troubles of this State were dangerously undertaken, but where the plot and pursuit was made by a spirit so infused.

King John had been after a *sine Regno* without a Kingdome, as he was at first *sans terre* without land, if his rebenediction had not wrought more upon the disloyall designs of Fitzwalter and Marshall, (whom his own elective love had made great in opinion by the Norman Services) then either his rebated Sword or blasted Sceptre could.

^b If Simon Montfort had not been too much improved in Experience and his own Opinion by the many services he underwent in the government of Gascoign, he had never so much dared against Duty, as to come over at the first call to make head against his Master, and pursue him with that fury of Ambition, untill he had forced him to redeem the liberty of his person by the blasting of so many flowers of his Imperiall Crown: and to set himself so far below the seat of Majesty, as to capitulate with them upon even conditions, which not performed (I use his own words) *c* *Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere*, it shall be lawfull for all persons in our Kingdome to rise up against us, and to do *omnia quae gravamen nostrum respiciant*, ac si Nobis in nullo tenerentur, so to act all things in reference to the grievances from us upon them, as if they were by no ty obliged to us.

If Richard Duke of York had never learned to be so great a Souldier at the cost of his Master

Heads of dangerous Rebels have been onely such as by Command in Warre have forgot to obey in Peace. *a* *Mat. Paris anno 5. Joan.*

b *willielm. de Rishanger in Historia*

c *Ex Charta concess. Baro- nibus anno 42 Hen. 3.*

Verba Ducis
Somerſet. con-
tra Ducem
Eborac. co-
ram Rege.

Henry the ſixth in another State, he had never diſquieted the calm of his Times, or given juſt occaſion to his Oppoſite *Somerſet* to ſay, That if he had never learned to play the King by his Regencie in France, he had never forgot to obey as a Subject when he returned into England.

Our own times can afford ſome, whoſe ſpirit improved by *Military* imploymēt, and made wanton with popular applauſe, might have given inſtance of theſe dangers, if good ſucceſſe had been a relative to bad intentions. And every age breeds ſome exorbitant ſpirits, who turn the edge of their own ſufficiency upon whatſoever they can devour in their ambitious apprehenſions, ſeeking rather a great than a good Fame; and holding it the chiefeſt Honour to be thought the Wonder of their times: which if they attain to, it is but the condition of Monſters, that are generally much admired, but more abhorred.

But warre ſome may ſay mouldeth not all men thus: for vertuous men will uſe their weapons for ornament amongſt their Friends, againſt Enemies for defence. And to thoſe men their own goodneſs is not ſafe, *nam Regibus boni quam mali ſuſpectiores ſunt*, for Kings ſuſpect good men ſooner then bad. Kings muſt have their Miniſters *pares negotiis* fit for their buſineſſe, and not *ſupra* above it, or too able for it. For another mans too-much ſufficiency (as they take it) is a diminution of their reſpectiveneſs, and therefore dangerous.

Many diſor-
ders in the
State by re-
turn of the
common
ſouldier.

THe meaner ſort having forgot the toile of their firſt life by inuring themſelves to the liberty of Warre, which leaveth for the moſt part the

the lives of men to their own looseness, and the means of getting to their own justice, can never again endure either order or labour; and so return but to corrupt the Common-wealth with their lawlesse manners. For living more riotously then the rapine of forrein victory could warrant, (as for the most they doe) in contempt of their own private Want and Fortune, they desire a change of the publick Quiet. In Tumults and Uproars they take least care for their livings, howere the world goes they can be no loosers: for like *Silla's Army*, making no difference between sacred and profane Robberies, (for the victors Sword seldome teacheth either mean or modesty) they will be ready upon every advantage to pillage their Country-men at home. For who can expect men dissolutely disciplined can ever use their armes with moderation?

Against the fury of such seditious Outrages many Parliaments, as^a in the 22. of *Hen.* the ^a *Parl. ann.* 6. have been sollicit for redresse. And that ^{22. Hen. 6.} example in ^b *Champaign* after the Peace at *Cal-* ^b *Froissard.* *lis* 1360. where this licentious Rout at the close of those warres slue the *Duke of Bourbon*, and besieged the *Pope* at *Avignon*, may suffice to expresse this mischief.

It hath no lesse weakened the bond of mutual Trade; since our Marchants, whom the necessity of late times left to recover by force the losses they pretended, do now teach, as a *Maxime* of their Mysterie and our State, That the directest way either to wealth or security is by *Rapine* and Spoile: and to cloake their own ends pretend the common good; as if the State stood by their affections, when in truth they

themselves cannot fish but in *aqua turbida* in troubled waters; & therefore would have *Incendium Patriæ* a bonfire of their Country, if it be but to keep warm & awake their own humours.

Exhausting of the people no Necessity but Danger.

THE last motive from Necessity is, the ease Warre bringeth to a surcharged State. Intending it seemeth Warre but as the Sinck, and Souldiers but as the Corruptions of Commonweals; whereas besides the inevitable use of the one, and the noble condition of the other, (an Errour in the argument) Nature doth never oppress further by increase, then she again discharge. The breast of the Mother she enableth to nourish up as many as the Womb shall *uno partu* at one birth ever bring forth; proportioning to the number of the children the condition of their Strength and Appetites. It is then accession of our own that may surcharge; for Parents by such indulgent admission may soon famish whom in Motherly affection they intend to cherish.

But admitting the former ground, whether by this way of waste we be ever able and at pleasure to gage the Issue (when such elective power is left to him onely *qui suis stat viribus, non alieno pendet arbitrio*, who stands by his own strength, and not at the pleasure of another) is considerable; since to begin *cuius licet, deponere cum victores volunt*, is easy for any man, but the laying down will be at the conquerous pleasure. For the wasting of our people in ambitious Enterprizes (as that for an Empire by *Constantine* in France) left this land as a prey to the barbarous Frontiers, *omni milite & florida Inventus; alacritate spoliata*, being left

^a Beda Hist. Eccl. lib. 1.

naked of Souldiery, and robbed of the choicest flower of youth. And when we were tied to make good our undertaking in *France*, the waste of our people was so great, that to supply extremity we took *purgamenta urbium*, the dreggs of townes, (as *Curtius* saith of *Alexander*;) ^a Need ^{a Ex Rot. Francie an.} hiring the Bankrupts by protection, as in 22. of *Edward* the first; and enforcing, against the rule of justice, the Judges to put *Placita eorum in respectu qui in obsequium Regis profecturi sunt*, Pleas in the behalf of such as were to go in the Kings service. And as *Tacitus* of a declined Majesty saith, *emunt militem, non legunt*, they buy their Souldiers rather then make choice of them; we made purchase of generall Pardons of all that were *Utlegati*, *Banniti*, *aut de Feloniis indictati*, *si cum Rege transire voluerint*, out-lawed, excommunicated, or indicted of Felony, in case they would go over with the King. As in the same year of the former King and in the year after were discharged out of all Prisons in the Realm to the number of 97 notorious Malefactours. ^b And in the 18. of *Edward* the second, and 8. of *Edw.* the third, and 12. of *Edw.* ^{b Ex Rot. Original. in Arch. The-} fourth we did the like. An army better apted by Necessity then Election to live upon the Enemy, ^{saunt.} *Quibus ob Egestatem & Flagitia maxima peccandi necessitudo est*, whose indigency and former ill way of life must needs make them ready for any mischief. In the end of this King last remembred, and entrance of his Heir *Richard* the second, the State began to be sensible of consuming Issue; which not lying in the Kings power (now as the strength of *France*, set on Revenge, stood) to stay at pleasure, (for--*arma tenenti Omnia dat qui iusta negat*--Deny the Soul-

Souldiers due, You give him all you have) it
 a *Ex Rot. Par.* was urged to him in Parliament a 7. of his reign,
anno 7. R. 2. as an *error* in his Government : whereto he
 answered , that they ought not to lay the cause
 upon him, for that together with the Crown the
 Warres descended unto him. And the *Chauncel-
 lor* 4. of *Henry* the 4. declared publickly in the
 Higher House, that by the mischance of Warre
 and want of reasonable *Peace*, (for I use the
 words of the Roll) occasioned by dissension
 and private desire , the flower of *Chivalry* and
 Rock of *Nobles* within the Realm was in a
 manner consumed.

Lucan.

*Nobilitas cum Plebe perit, lateque vagatur
 Ensis, & à multo revocatum est pectore ferrum.*

The Peer and Peasant falls, and hating rest

Bloudy the Sword returns from many a breast.

And the whole State by warre had been thus
 subverted, had not God as a mean raised that
 King.

Better to dis-
 burden the
 state by Co-
 lony then
 War.

But since the end of mans creation is not for
 the Slaughter, nor education of Armes to make
 men Castaways; the course most answerable
 either to *charity*, or *Example*, (for *Rome* did by
colonies enlarge and confirm her *Empire*) is to
 transplant that we may best spare. In *Ireland*
 we may increase the King many Subjects, and
 in the *Indies* God many servants: a world from
 our Forefathers lockt up by divine Providence,
 as onely best to glorify and purify these Times.
 And as in warre *conquirendus potius miles
 quam dimittendus*, Souldiers are rather to be li-
 sted then disbanded; so post bellum *vires refo-
 vendæ magis quam spargendæ*, after warre
 forces are rather to be cherished then wasted.
 And thus much in answer of *Necessity*.

Answer

Answer to the Arguments of Profit.

THE profits gained by Forrain Expeditions cannot be any wayes so truly esteemed, as by setting down the expence of Mony, Men, and Munition, by which we have made purchase of them. I will therefore deliver as they fall in sequence all the Impositions, Taxes and Lones, whether by generall Grant, or *Prærogative* power levied of the People; summing after up, as I go along the times of our Princes, the number of Men, Ships, and vast provisions of Victualls raised to supply the necessity & expence of War.

Profit of war,
Expence of
money, Mu-
nition and
men.

WILLIAM the Conquerour in the entrance of his government took of every Hide of all the land 12d. a due of the Subjects to the Sovereign exactions both before and since the Conquest, to defray upon this such charge as either the defence of the Land State from from spoile, or the Sea from Piracy, should expose the Prince to. It is called *Dane-geld*, *Gelda Regis*, or *Hidage*, and was lesse by the Hide the Conquest to the end of the late Queen. or Plough-land, like to that *Jugatio per jugera* taxation by the acre in Rome, yet by no rate definite with this as with another Exaction, taken, as the Monk of S. Albans a faith, *sive per fas sive per nefas*, by fair means or by foule. He passed ^{a Ex Matib. Paris pag. 8. & 15.} over into France, into the list of charge he ranked the Bishops and Abbots, lesseing upon them and at their charge a proportion of Souldiers for his service, exiling many worthy men that opposed this thraldome.

William Rufus anno 7. set upon the heads of so many as he mustered up for the French wars 10. shil. a man, and so discharged them. In *an. 9.* he to the same end spoiled the Churches of their Ornaments and *Holy vessels*, and levied

William Ru-
fus.

4. Hi-

^a Ex antiq.
legibus An-
glie.

^b Silius Ita-
licus.

^c Ex Hist.
Gualt.

Gisborn.

^d Ex Hist.
Mat. Paris.

^e Ex Hist.
Mat. westm.

^f Ex Hist.
Hen. Hun-
ting.

Stephen.

^g Ex Hist.
mon. Gisborn.

Henry 2.

4 Hidages of every Plough-land, ^a *Tributis Angliam non modo abradens, sed excorians*, not only shaving, but even flaying England with his impositions: so that wearied with warre and expence, *ne respirare potuit Anglia sub ipso suffocata*, England was quite stifled by him, and could not so much as breath. --- ^b *Quid jam non Regibus ausum? Aut quid jam Regno restat Scelus?* --What durst not Kings then do? What mischief could the Nation suffer more? in this Kings time.

^c Henry the first anno 5. *magnam à Regno exegit Pecuniam*, exacted a great summe of his Kingdome, with which he passed into France: and by this means ^d *gravabatur terra Anglie oppressionibus multis*, England was born down with many oppressions. ^e He took in the 10. year 6. shillings Danegeld. ^f And in the 17. *Quod inter eum & Regem Francorū magnū fuit dissidium, Anglia fuit variis depressa Exactionibus, & Bonis sine peccato spoliata*, by means of the great difference betwixt him and the King of France, England was oppressed with divers exactions, & men spoild of their goods for no offence at all.

Of King Stephen there need no more then the words of the Monk of Gisborn, ^g *Post annum sextum Pax nulla, omnes partes terrebat violenta Prædatio*, after the 6. year of his reign there was no quiet, but all parts of the land became a prey and spoil to violent men.

Henry the second, alluding not unlike to the Feoda given the Eremite in the decline of the Empire, as Salaries by which they stood bound to defend the Frontiers against the Incurfions of the Barbarous Nations, continued the Policy of his Progenitours, who allotted the land into
such

such and so many equall portions, as might seem competent for supportation of a Knight or man at Armes; from whom (as occasion required) they received either service or contribution. This Tenure, now esteemed a Thraldome, began upon a voluntary and desired submission; for who from his gift would not of the Prince accept land upon the like conditions, so it toucheth not the Sovereign as a wrong to the Subject, but as in right his own? And therefore respecting their first immediate dependency upon the Crown, which is a great part of the Kings Honour, their duties and Escheats a great benefit, and their attendance by Tenure in warre at their own charge to the number of 60216 at the least, (for the Knights Fees in England are no lesse) a great ease, strength, and security to his State; for they are *totidem Hostagia*, so many Hostages, as *Bracton* saith; it were a thing perilous now to alter, after such a current of time & custome. This King to understand the better his own strength, *publico. praecepit edicto quod quilibet Prelatus & Baro, quot Milites de eo tenebant in capite publicis suis instrumentis significarent*, he caused it to be proclaimed that every Prelate and Baron should notify by publick deed how many Knightships they held of him *in capite*. By this rule of *Scutage*, constant in the number, he levied alwayes his Subsidies and relief, though divers in the rate. Of the first, which was neare the beginning of his Reign, there is no record. The second *Scutage*, which was anno 5. amounted to 124 millia-^{a Ex Gervaf. Dorobernen.} brarum argenti, thousand pounds of silver; which anno 1159. reduced to the standard of our money 5 shil. the ounce, whereas that was not five groats, will amount

- ^a *Ex lib. Rub. in Scerio.* amount to near 400000 l. An. 7. ^a *Scutagiū fuit assessum ad duas Marcas pro Exercitu Tholosa,* a Scutage was assessed 2 Marks for the army at Tholouse; w^{ch} if summed up by the received number of Knights Fees, being 60216 in the hands of the Layety onely, of our moneys cannot be lesse then 250000 l. The like in the next year. In an.
- ^b *Ex Gervas. Dorobernens.* 11. ^b there was an Aid *pro servientibus invenientis in exercitu;* to find men to serve in the wars, of 2d. *de unaquaque libra* in every pound. And 4. *sequentibus annis de singulis libris singulis denariis,* in the four following yeares a penny in the pound was taken of all men, the estates of mens Fortunes being delivered upon their Oaths. In the 14. yeare a Scutage was assessed ^c *ad Marcam unam de singulis Feodis,* one Mark on every Fee. And anno 18. ^d *Ex hist. Rosens.* ^d *Scutagium pro quolibet Feodo;* a Scutage for every Fee. A Tenth of all moveables was granted in the 35. of his Reign. In which year dying,
- ^e *Ex hist. Mat Paris.* 900 ^e *millia librarum in auro & argento;* prater utensilia & jocalia, reliquit, he left in mony 900000 pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.
- Richard 1. ^f *Richard the first in the beginning besides* ^f *Scutagium Wallie assessum,* a Scutage assessed upon Wales at 10. shil. levied as in the succour of the Holy Land a Subsidie out of all the Moveables in the Realm to his own use; ^g *Et elemosyna titulo vitium Rapacitatis inclusit;* cloaking his ravenous extortion under the fair name of a pious almes. A contribution there was in the 6. yeare of 150 ^h *millia marcarum argenti* walt, Coventr. ⁱ *ad pondus Columniensum,* 150000 marks of silver to pay his ransome: as also a ⁱ *Ex Rog. Hoved. & walt. Covent.* Scutage assessed at 20 shil. In the 17. he imposed for his warrs a contribution called *Tene-*
ment-

mentale. Extremity (for by his waste and imprisonment he had almost exhausted the wealth of the State) invented *nova & varia prädandi vocabula*, new and sundry words to expresse his exactions, as *Tacitus* ^a saith, of *Centesima &* ^a *Tacit. an-*
Quingagesima, an hundredth part and a fif- ^{nal. 4.}
tieth part, (names that since have found reception and use with us.) This was 2. shillings of every Plough-land from the Husbandman, and from the Gentry and Nobility the third part of their Military service. He inforced the *Cistercian Monks* ^b to redeem the same yeare ^b *Ex Joan.*
their woolls *sine Pecuniaria*, at a Fine. For his *Everſden.*
Army into *Normandy* ^c he took a *Scutage* as- ^c *Rub. lib. in*
ſeſſed at 20 shillings. ^d And 4. years after of *Secrrio.*
every Plough-land 5. shillings, and of every ^e *Ex walt.*
Borough and ^e City *duos palfridos & 10. idem* *Coventr.*
summarios, 2. horses and as many summaries; ^e *Ex Math.*
and of every *Abbot* half asmuch. Then loo- ^{Paris.}
ſing of purpose his great Seale, proclaimed that ^f *Omnes Chartæ & Confirmationes novi* ^f *Ex charta*
Sigilli impressione roborarentur, all Charters ^{origin.}
and Assurances should be confirmed by the new Seal. Whereby anew he drew from all men a composition for their Liberties. This fashion was afterwards taken up by some of his Successours; as ^g of *Henry* the 3. when all ^g *Ex hist. Mat.*
again were enjoyned *qui suis volebant liber-* ^{Paris pa. 209.}
tatibus gaudere, as many as would enjoy their Liberties, *ut innovarent Chartas suas de novo*
Regis Sigillo, to renew their Charters from the Kings new Seal. Some reason ^h *Richard* had ^h *Ex hist. Rog.*
in the end to become a gatherer, that had not ^{Hoveden.}
long before by accompt of *Chancellour Hubert* then *Archbishop*, spent *infra biennium undecies*
centena millia Marcarum argenti de Regno
An-

King John.

^a Rad. Cog-
shall & Rub.

lib. in Scerio.

^b Ex Rog.

Hoveden.

^c Ex Math.

Paris.

^d Lib. Rub.

in Scerio.

^e Ex Math.

Paris.

^f Ex Lib. Rub.

Scerio.

^g Ex Rad.

Cogshall.

^h Ex Math.

Paris.

ⁱ Walt. Co-

ventr. & Rad.

Cogshall.

^k Ex Math.

Paris.

^l Ex Rad.

Cogshall.

^m Rub. lib. in

Scerio.

ⁿ Ex Rad.

Cogshall &

Rub. lib. in

Scerio.

^o Math. Paris

hist. min.

^p Rub. lib. in

Scerio.

Henry 3.

^q Ex Rub. lib.

in Scerio &

Joan. Everf-

den.

Anglia, within lest then 2 yeares eleven hundred thousand Marks of silver current English money.

His brother John succeeding ^a took in the first of his Reign ^a *Scutage* assessed at two Marks. ^b For the two next years 3 shil. of every Plough: ^c and the year following, besides ^a *Scutage* as before, the 40. part of the Revenues of the Clergie and Layety. ^d In the 4. year hee took the like *Scutage*, and the ^e seventh part of the moveable goods of the *Baronage & Clergie*. A *Scutage* assessed at 2 Marks ^f in an. 5. & The like in the 6. and 7. years 20 shil. *Scutage*; and the 13 part of Moveables aswell of the Church as Layety in the year following. In ^h an. 9. he exacted by redemption of the Concubines of the Clergie a great summe. In the 11. ⁱ *extor sit tributum grave, scil. 140 millia librarum à viris Ecclesiasticis*, he extorted a great tribute, viz. 140000 pounds of the Church-men. And to furnish his Army, ^k *Clericorum Horrea invadit*, he came upon the Barns of the Clergy. In ^l the 12. a *Scutage* assessed at two marks, besides an exaction ^m of 22000 l. from the *Cisterians*. He took ⁿ in the 13. year a *Scutage* assessed at 20 sh. *pro exercitu Wallie*, for his Welsh Army; exacting ^o from the Ministers of the Church in the year following 40000 marks. ^p And in the 16. year *Scutagium assessum fuit pro exercitu Pictavia ad 3 Marcas*, a *Scutage* was assessed at 3 Marks for the Army in *Poictou*. Thus in the space of 17 years the State was delivered but thrice from *Impositions*.

In the time of Henry ~~the~~ third, ^q upon the Clergie, Nobility and Gentry there was assessed 15 *Scutages*; one at 10 shillings, two at 20, eight at two Marks, and 4. at 40 shillings the

the Knights Fee, ^a The land of the inferiour sort ^a *Mat. Paris*,
twice taxed; first at 2 shillings, after at half ^{& ex Rot.}
^a Mark the Plough. ^b And two Tallages upon *Claus. & fin-*
the land of the Crown. ^c From out of the Lay *nium an. 12,*
Subjects moveable goods hath been taken *13, 15, & 19.*
5 times: as the 40. the 30. 20. and 15. parts, *Hen. 3. & ex*
^d and once the 16. of the Clergie for this King. *lib. Chart.*
^e A Tenth he 9. times imposed upon the Church: *Cantuar.*
fix times for a yeare onely, and by it self; once *Episc.*
accompanied with the First-Fruits; once for ^b *Rot. Pat.*
3. yeares; and once for 5. ^f Besides 2. Aides, the *anno 8. H. 3.*
one moderate, the other called ^g *gravis exattio*, *Walsingham,*
a heavy exaction, and worthily, if to the 800. ^{& Mat. Pa-}
Marks imposed upon ^b *S. Edmunds Bury* all the *ris. Claus.*
other *Abbeys* were rated accordingly. ⁱ And *anno 19. H. 3.*
by the accompt of *Willihelmus de Middleton* ^d *Ex Mat.*
^k he received in the time of his government *Westmonast.*
exitu Indaismi 4020000 l. And as in all the ^e *Ex Statuto*
56. yeares of his reign (excepting five) either *anno 4. c. 17.*
the Church or Common-wealth were charged *Dors. Claus.*
with contribution-money to relieve the expence *anno 16. H. 3.*
of war; so were they grieved with other *Exa-*
^t *ctures*, either for Carriages, or *Vitnalls*, or per- ^f *Ex lib. Can-*
sonall attendance. In the 16. yeare the inha- ^g *tuar. Episc.*
bitants of *Winchelfsey* were enjoyned ⁱ *ut pro-*
viderent decem bonas naves & magnas ad trans- ^b *Ex Mat.*
fertandum in Pictaviam in servitium Regis, to *Paris & E-*
provide ten good and stout ships for the Kings *versden &*
service in *Poiton*. ^m And at another time 20. *Dors. Claus.*
Dunwich and *Ipswich* 5. a piece, and the Ports *anno 16. H. 3.*
proportionable, all at their own charge. In the ⁱ *Ex Walt.*
same yeare ⁿ and for the same service there was *Gisborn.*
transported 10000 quart. of wheat, 5000 of ^k *Rad. Ci-*
oates, and many Bacons. The Church not for- *strensis, ex E-*
^{& lib. Chart. Cant. Archiep. anno 8. H. 6.} ^l *Ex Joan. Eversden, Pat.*
^{an. 3. E. 1. m. 26.} ^m *Rot. Claus. an. 26. Henr. 3.* ⁿ *Ex H. Mat. Par. p. 317*

- born in those charges: For from *Winchester* a 2000 quarters of *Wheat* and *Oates*, and
 a *Ex Ret. lib.* 1000 of *Bacons* was taken. b The other *Bi-*
 anno 26. H. 3. shops and *Clergie* bearing their parts of vi-
 b *Ex Hist.* tuallls in the like *Exactions*, coming---ut unda
Mat. Paris. *supervenit unda: ac si esset Anglia puteus inex-*
haustus, as wave follows wave, as it *England*
 c *Dors. claus.* were a pit never to be drawn dry. c In the 12.
 anno 14. H. 3. and 14. the King levieth *Souldiers* for his wars
 n. 8. & *claus.* beyond *Sea*, collecting *pro Exercitu suo de fin-*
 12. H. 3. m. 2. *gulis duabus Hidis cur.* upon every two *Hides*
 so much for his *Army*, and to bring *secum vi-*
Etitalia victuallls with them: and those for
 whose service the King dispenced, *et quos Rex*
vult remanere in partibus suis, and such as he
 pleased should continue at home, to contribute
 victuallls to those that went for 40. dayes:
 d *Claus. an. 14* commanding the *Sheriffs* d to sweare all *ad*
 H. 3. n. 7. *Arma qui post eum remanebant in Anglia, in*
forma qua jurati fuerant tempore Ioannis Pa-
tris sui, to *Armies*, who stayed behind him in
England, after the manner they were sworn in
 the time of King *Iohn* his father; by which *Or-*
dinance of King *Iohn* all able *Subjects* from
Youth to decrepite *Age* were bound to arme
 e *Claus. an. 16* themselves, and be in continuall readines, e 2
 H. 3. m. 11. *sero usque ad mane* from night to morning, (for
 so the *Record* is) to attend the Kings pleasure.
 And therefore *Henry* the third in anno 14.
 f *Claus. an. 14.* f *mandavit Vicecomitibus quod venire faciant*
 H. 3. m. 9. *ad exercitum Regis homines juratos ad fer-*
rum, commanded the *Sheriffs* to send all those
 to his *Army* who had been so sworn, bringing
 with them *Loricas*, *Habergiones*, &c. *Coats of*
Maile, *Habergeons*, &c. And to such as negle-
 cted this service he sent his *Writs*, reprehending
 them

them at first, ^a *jurgatorie e quod*, &c. partly ^a *claus. in* for that, &c. and after fining them according *Dorso, an. 15.* to their abilities and Tenures. Taking ^b *an. 26. Hen. 3.* of *Willihelm. de Umfrevile pro quietatione passagii*, for the securing of his passage into Gas- ^b *Rot. finium 26. H. 3. m. 4.* coign 100 Marks; and so in proportion of many others.

Edward the first exacted from the land of his Subjects 4. times *Scutage*, assessed every time at 40. shillings the Knights Fee. And once an Aide called *Auxilium novum*, a new Aide, which he farmed out for ready money. Of the Rents of the Clergie he took a Tenth part twice for one yeare, and once for six; and the 20. part twice from both the *Provinces*, and once for two yeares from *Canterbury* only.

The possessions of the *Priors Aliens* he seized once into his own hands, putting the *Monks* to a bare Pension of 18. pence a week. Of the goods of the Clergie he took the 30. the 15. and the 5. part once, the *Moiety* three times, and the Tenth seven times; whereof the *Grant* was first for two yeares, and then for three yeares, and once for six yeares. ^c Of the goods of the Commons the 8. the 9. and the 12. part he took once, twice severally the 10. and 11. the ^{Rot. Pat. anno 25. E. 1. m. 3. sced.} *Sessors* being sworn to levy and rate truly. Three times he had the 15. part, and once the moiety of a 15. From the Clergie and *Laiety* together the King had granted of their *Moveables* a 10. a 15. and a 30. part. Of the *Cities* and *Boroughs*, besides a great Loan, once the 7. and 8. and twice the 6. part. From the *Merchants* a 20. and a 7. portion once of their *Commodities*; imposing a new *Custom* of a Noble upon every Sack of Wooll which he let out to Farm. And

under pretence of some breach of Amity with those parts whether his Merchants traded, he
^a Rot. Vasc. seized anno 22. ^a all the Woolls into his hands,
 anno 22. E. 1. and made of them instant Sale to the best value,
 m. 8. leaving them upon security to a short price and
^b Ex Rot. a long day of payment. He took ^b the same
 Vasc. an. 22. yeare, to the distaste of the Pope and murmure
 E. 1. m. 17. of the Clergie, all the money gathered in *subsidium Terre Sancte*, for the succour of the Holy
 Land, to furnish his Journeyes. Upon the persons of his Subjects he imposed one Tallage,
^c Ex Rot. Vasc. c. assessed either in *communi* in generall, or per
 an. 22. E. 1. *capita* by the Poll. And twice the like upon the
 Jews: whereof the one amounted to 50000
 Marks. Neither were his people by continuall
 payment (for there was but one yeare of inter-
 mission all his Reign) freed from attendance in
 their Persons. For in record there appeareth
^d Rot. Pat. plentifully his writs to the Sheriffes: as ^d an. 31.
 anno 31. E. 1. *de peditibus eligendis de tota Anglia*, for the
 chusing of foot-Souldiers throughout all En-
 gland; and to be found and furnished by their
^e Ex Hist. severall Countreyes: calling ^e his Earls, Barons
 Joan. Everf- and *Knights* to personall service according to
 den. their Tenures.

Edward 2.

His Son the second *Edward* assessed upon the
 lands of his Subjects twice *Scutage*; once at two
 Marks, & once at 40. sh. the Knights Fee. From
 the Revenues of the Clergie rated by the book
 of Tenths, he at distinct times took 4^d. 5^d. and
 12^d. in the Mark; and once the 15. part of the
 whole. From the goods of the Clergie a Tenth
 for three yeares. And twice ^f a Loan from the
^f claus. an. 8. Abbots and Bishops. From the Layetie (besides
 E. 2. m. 9. a Tallage of their Moveables) in Cities and
 Boroughs once a Tenth, twice a 15. and twice a
 20. part

20. part of their goods. Besides a Loan from the Commons, and 10. shillings borrowed upon every Sack of Wooll from Merchant Strangers, and a Noble from others. ^a From the ^a *claus. 10.* Clergy and Layetie together of their goods ^a *E. 2. claus.* Tenth, a 15. and twice an 18. part, besides ^{anno 12. E. 2.} a Loane. He augmented his fathers new Custome with an Imposition of a Noble more upon every Sack of Wool. And ^{anno 10.} ^b *quia* ^b *Ex memor.* *exitus Regni sui & terrarum*, because the profits ^{Scii. an. 10.} of his Realm and dominions elsewhere, together with all the money granted by the Church ^{E. 2. ex parte} and Layetie, ^{Rem. thesaur.} *ad sumptus Belli sufficere noluit*, was not enough to defray the charges of his wars, and that he must *infinitam pecuniam effundere*, spend a vast deal of mony; he lesseth and increaseth an Imposition upon all Commodities inward and outward to an extreme Rate; and caused the Commons in every Shire to lay down money *in deposito* to pay his Souldiers; and took from the Nobility and Gentry a large contribution towards his wars; and seized ^c *omnes* ^c *Rot. Vascon.* *Lanas & Coria Mercatorum*, ^{anno 22. E. 2.} *data securitate* ^{m. 13. in sced.} *Possessoribus derationabili pretio postea solvendo*, All the Wools and Hides of the Merchants, giving security to the Owners that a reasonable price should be paid for them afterwards. He charged the Ports and Sea-Townes 12. severall yeares *ad costas suos & sumptibus villarum*, at their own costs, and the charge of the Villages about them, (as the Record saith) to set to Sea in his service Ships furnished *Armis & victualibus*, with Armes and Victualls; sometimes for one month, as ^{anno 11.} ^d sometimes ^{anno 12. m. 8.} for 4. as ^e 12. and sometimes for 7. as ^f *anno 4.* ^f *Rot. Pat.* the number of Ships more or lesse as occasion ^{anno 4. E. 2.}

a Dorſ. clauſ. required. In an. 17.^a Southampton was char-
 anno 17. E. 2. ged with ſix, and 118. Sea-Towns more with
 m. 11. rateable proportions for the Kings ſervice.
 b clauſ. anno Sometimes, as anno 18. ^bembarguing all the
 18. m. 34. Ships in any Port that were of forty Tunnes or
 upwards, or of 50. Tunnes and upward, as
 an. 20. ^ccontra hoſtiles aggreſſus Gallorum, a-
 gainſt the hoſtile attempts of the French. Cau-
 ſing the town of Southampton anno 6. ^dto build
 a Galley for himſelf of 120. Oares. Command-
 ing all the Sheriſſes for proviſion of Victuall, as
 anno c 1, 2, 3, 4, 9. to provide de Exitibus Co-
 mitatum certum pretium, at the charge of the
 County a certain Rate, to the proportion ſome-
 times of 30500 Quarters of Corn and many
 Bacons, as anno 16. ^fand to ſend them to the
 Kings Army. As alſo ^gCarretta & Carra cum
 Equis & Bobus, Carts and Waggon with Oxen
 and Horſes out of the Countyes ſeverally for
 the uſe of war. Sometimes he made the Ports
 to ſend proviſion themſelves, as anno 7. ^hand
 not to ſuffer any Ships with victualls ⁱibidem
^dſcarari, to be there unladed, but to order
 them by ſecurity for thoſe parts where the
 Kings Army was lodged.
 And not ſparing the Church, exacted ^khis
 three firſt yeares *Frumenta & alia victualia*
pro exercitu ſuo, Corn and other Victualls for
 his Army from them.
 Beſides the former Charges, the Perſons of
 Men, aſwell of the Nobility as meaner rank
 were at their own Charge often enjoyned to
 ſerve by reaſon of the wars. ^lAs in 6, 7, 8,
 9, 10. and 16. ^mof this King, when they were
 called *ſingulatim* man by man, aſwell Wi-
 dowes as Knights ⁿand Noblemen, and ſuch as
 held

held 40. l. land according to their Tenures, ^a *claus. an. 16.*
^a *sub forisfactura terrarum & Catallorum E- m. 20.*
quis & Armis, sumptibus propriis, to appear ^b *Ex Pater-*
 with Horse and Armes, at their own charge, ^c *culo de Aug.*
 under penalty of forfeiting their Lands and ^c *claus. an. 16.*
 Chattels; & to provide *de hominibus ad Arma* ^{m. 11. & cla.}
ultra famulos suos consuetos, men for the ser- ^{an. 15. m. 19.}
 vice besides their ordinary Servants: according ^d *Rot. Scotie*
 to *Augustus* ^b rule, *Viri Fæmineque ex Censu* ^{anno 3. E. 2.}
coacta dare Militem, both men and women ^{m. 8. Dorso.}
 were forced to find their Souldiers. And of this ^e *Rot. Scotie*
 the clergie was not exempted ^c *anno 16. of this* ^f *Rot. Pat. an.*
 King. And out of every town one *sumptibus* ^{15. m. 19.}
propriis, at their own charges, for 40. dayes, as ^g *Rot. Scotie*
anno 15. 1. or for 60. as anno 9. 1. or pro 7. Sc- ^{anno 12. m. 13}
primanis for 7. weeks, as *anno 4. d* Sometimes ^h *claus. an. 18*
 1000. in one Countrey, as *anno 3. e* Sometimes ^{m. 13.}
 an entire Army of 18300. *an. 11. and* 48800. ⁱ *Rot. Pat.*
 at the charge of all the Countyes *anno 15.* ^{an. 16. m. 27.}
^g *London sumptibus civitatis* at the Cities ^k *Rot. Pat.*
 charge, found 500. men for 40. dayes *anno 12.* ^{anno 9. m. 22.}
 and the like *anno 18. contra insultus Regis* ^{Dorfo. Cla. 10.}
Francie, against the invasions of the King of ^{m. 26. claus.}
France. ⁱ The King commanded *anno the 16.* ^{anno 15. m. 13}
 that all of 40. shil. land & upwards should rate- ^{Rot. Pat.}
 ably send to his service men; ^k And *annis 9. 1* ^{anno 16. m. 27}
 10, 15, and 16. that all *jurati ad arma*, sworn ^{anno 13. m. 2.}
 to Armes, or from 16. to 60. *secundum Statu-* ^m *Dorfo. claus.*
tum Wincestræ, according to the Statute of ^{anno 6. m. 28.}
 Winchester, should attend their Services. ¹ And ^{Rot. Scotie}
anno 13. injoined all from 20. to 60. to be ^{anno 7. m. 2.}
 armed and victualled at their own charge. ^{claus. anno 8.}
^m And commanded the Sheriffs *annis 6. 7. 8.* ^{m. 30.}
 12, 16, and 18. to see all the able men of En- ^{claus. an. 16.}
 gland so furnished, that *Parati sint & muniti* ^{m. 12.}
^{Rot. Scotie}

anno 12. m. 6. Rot. Pat. anno 18. m. 21.

ad veniendum ad Regem quando vocati fuerint, they should be provided and in a readines to march to the King when he should call them, their weapons to be provided *ad sumptus Incolarum*, at the charge of their neighbour dwellers; and themselves enjoyne to muster and train every six weeks. If any neglected his appointed service, there was sent to the Sheriff a

^a Rot. claus.

anno 15. E. 2.

m. 14.

Rot. finium:

anno 15. m. 16

writ de habendo illos coram Concilio, qui premoniti non venerunt in expeditione Regis, to bring them before the Councel, who knowing of it before, refused the expedition, as anno 15. 1. the parties imprisoned, and their goods seized

^b Rot. claus.

anno 9.

Rot. Pat.

anno 16. m. 12

into the Kings hands, as ^b anno 9. et 16. or else redemption by fine, as the ^c Sheriffes of Buckingham and Bedford did their men for 600.

^c Rot. claus.

anno 15. m. 19

^d Rot. Scotie

anno 13. E. 2.

m. 1.

Marks anno 15. The owner of 40. shillings land to redeem his first default ^d *cum tertia parte Bonorum*, with the 3. part of his Goods; the second, *cum tota residua*, with the remaining parts; at the third, *sint Corpora eorum ad voluntatem Regis*, their Bodiesto be at the Kings disposal; and of Knights, *qui non fuerunt in exercitu Regis*, 20. l. *de qualibet Hida*, which were not in the Kings Army, 20. l. for every

^e Claus. an. 13

m. 20.

Hide, as ^e anno 13.

I have the longer insisted upon this King, that *tanquam in speculo*, as in a glasse we may behold the intolerable miseries of the Nobility and Commons inseparably accompanying the times of war.

Edward 3.

^f Pat. an. 48.

E. 3. m. 10.

Edward the third charged ^f the lands of his Subjects twice 40. shillings of every Knights Fee; and 5. l. 16. shillings of every Parish in the 48. yeare of his Reign. Out of the Goods of the Commons he took once the 9. part, and 15th. of

of Forest and Wast; twice the tenth, thirteen times a fifteenth for one yeare, and twice for three yeares: and once the 20. part of all moveables, and 30000. Sacks of Wooll upon conditions. Of the *Boroughs* and *Cities*, 4. Tenths, and one for three yeares. From the *Lords* the tenth Sheaf, Lambe, and Fliece: who with the Bishops and Knights grant 20000. Sacks of Wooll for payment of the Kings debts, giving in the *interim* security themselves by Bond to the *Earle of Brittain*, to whom their Sovereign stood ingaged. Of the *Clergy* alone one Tenth for 4. yeares, three for three yeares, and one for one yeare. Besides a Contribution in the 12. of his Reign, seizing in the same yeare all the Goods of the *Cluny* and *Cistercian Monks*. Of the *church* and *Laiety* together he received 6. times the 10. of all their Moveables. From the *Merchants* and State a Subsidy of Wool for 3. yeares. Imposing *anno* 33. 26. shil. 8^d. upon every Sack transported: which doubled the Impositions of his Father and Grandfather. Advancing it after for 6. yeares to 40. shillings; and in *an.* 38. (being the yeare he resumed his Scile of *France*,) to 46. shillings 4^d. the Sack of Wooll. Taking Poundage 6^d. of all Commodities inward and outward, and enjoyning the Marchants for every Sampler of Wooll transported to return in 40. shillings *Bullion* to his Minte. a Himself becoming Merchant of a *Ex Rot. Al-*
all the Tinne in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* *man. an. 12.*
anno 12. in *auxilium supportationis onerum* *m. 17.*
Belli, to help him bear the burthen of his wars: assessing upon the heads of his Subjects a fine of 4^d. severally *anno* 51. Besides in b *anno* 20. he *Claus. an. 20*
took a Loane of the Bishops, Abbots, Justices, *B. 3. m. 22.*
et *in dorso.*

et aliis potentioribus Regni, de diversis pecuniarum Summis inter Summas de 1000. l. & 40. l. and other wealthy men of his Realm, in several summes of mony, betwixt the summes of 1000. l. and 40. l.

^a *Claus. an. 1.* In the first of his Reigne ^a he commandeth all *E. 3. Rot. Sco.* the Sea-towns to attend with Ships his service, *anno 1. E. 3.* *sumptibus propriis & duplici Eskippamento,*

at their own proper charge, and with double Skippage, and to provide as many as they can of 60. Tun and upwards. And the yeare following ^b layeth the like charge upon 76. Port-Townes for all Ships of 40. Tunne and more. *E. 3.*

^c *Claus. an. 10.* And *anno 10.* ^c the like at their own charge, besides ^a a contribution of mony, ^d for payment whereof the Officers are commanded, *ut eas per districtiones & alias punitiones prout expedire viderint compellent,* to force it by distraining, and what other punishments they shall find expedient. Injoyning such Merchants of London, *qui ex transmarinis passagijs lucra adquirunt,* who had traffick in forreign parts, to furnish Ships for war at their own Charge. *m. 9. & Rot. Alman. an. 12. m. 12.*

^e *Rot. Scotie* ^e And *anno* the thirteenth the Cinque-Ports set out to sea 30. Ships, and maintain them during the service, half at their own, half at the Councils charge. Fourscore Ships being furnished & defrayed by the Out-Ports, the Admirall directed to embargue all other Ships for the Kings service. *f* And although the Subject found this an infinite grievance, yet could he (upon humble complaint in Parliament) receive no further relief, then that the King would not have it otherwise then before. *g*

^f *Rot. Scotie* ^f And although the Subject found this an infinite grievance, yet could he (upon humble complaint in Parliament) receive no further relief, then that the King would not have it otherwise then before. *g*

^g *Rot. Alman.* For Provision of his Armes, the King took at one time, and at a rate of losse to the Subject, *anno 1. E. 3. m. 2.* 19000.

19000. quarters of Grain, 2200. Oxen salted, & 3000. Bacons; besides of other Provisions an infinite quantity.^a The like very frequent all his ^{a Rot. Scotie anno 10. m. 17} Reign, *pro guerris necessariis, sub id magis com- modo fieri poterat*, for the necessities of his wars, where it could be done with more conveniency.

The Persons of all his meaner Subjects from 16. to 60. he causeth to be armed in readinesse ^{b Rot. Scotie anno 1. m. 2.} *ad pramonitionem 5. dierum*, at 5. dayes warning; the Decrepit to contribute *ad expensa. premissorum*, towards the expenses of the rest: and to arrest the Bodies of the disobedient, that *de ipsis tanquam de inimicis sumat vindictam*, they might be dealt withall as enemies. ^{c Rot. Scotie anno 1.} The Gentry and Nobility supplying the King in his wars, and at their own Charge, ^{d Parla. an. 13 E. 3. Parla. anno 14. E. 3.} sometimes with 7. or 800. men at Armes, and 2. or 3000. Archers, as anno 13. with other proportions at divers yeares following. And the Bishops ordered ^{e Rot. Franc. anno 46.} to furnish *Armis & Equis competentibus*, serviceable Armes and Horses, so many as occasion required: and their Persons (together with the Lay Nobility) commanded ^{f quod & Claus. an. 1. E. 3. m. 1.} *sint parati Equis & Armis & toto servitio debito*, with Horse and Armes and all necessary accoutrements to attend the King in his wars.

These wars (which as Edward the third professeth himself in Parliament, ^{g Parl. an. 22. E. 3. n. 9.} could not without his great danger and losse of Honour be maintained, unlesse by perpetuall Aide from the Subjects) were so grievous to them, that in anno 22. they complain in Parliament of the miseries they underwent thereby: As of their Aides advanced to 40. shillings Fine, that by law should be but 20. shil. Their setting forth of men, and the Kings taking of their Victualls without

without payment; The Sea left to the charge of their keeping, and from their woolls by way of Subsidy 60000 *l.* yearly exacted without Law; besides the lending of 2000. Sacks, and themselves restrained from transporting any. But such was the Necessity of these times, that neither they had redresse of their Complaint, nor the State one year discharged of Contribution all his Reign.

Richard 2.
a *Parl. an.* 2.
& 14. *Rot.* 2.
n. 8.

Richard succeeding his Grandfather declareth both ^a *anno* 2. and 14. that the great Wars he was left in, and the Territories he inherited beyond Sea could not be maintained, except the Subject of this Realm gave supply of means thereto. He therefore of the Clergie and Laity took once the tenth of all their lands, and thrice of the goods of the Commons the like entirely, and six times the half, twelve times a fifteenth, and six times the Moiety: And had *anno* 21. granted one Tenth to him, and a 15. and a half of either of them yearly for term of life. From out the Boroughs and Cities thrice a full Tenth, and once a Moiety. Out of all Merchandises he received three years 6d. in the pound, and once twelve pence. And for every Tunne of Wine, and such Commodities, for 2. yeares 6d. doubling it for as many, and trebling it for three yeares after. The Custome of Woolls, &c. by *Edward* the first rated at a Noble the Sack, and under his son increased as much more, was to this King advanced to 22. shil. 8d. which singly for 8 yeares he had granted unto him, besides once for 3. yeares, and once for 4. having it after improved to 34. shil. 4d. and again to 43. shil. 4d. the Sack. The summe of one of these Subsidies in *anno* 14. amounted to 160000, *l.* From out
of

of the goods of the Clergie he had 8. Tenths and a half; and one out of those and the Laiety together; besides a Loan *anno* 5. of 60000. *l.* By the poll or heads of all his people from above 15. yeares, he collected twice a Contribution, assessed proportionall from the Begger to the Duke: Besides in strength of *Prærogative* only, of every Ship and Fisherman 6^d. the Tun: the like of *Newcastle* Coals, and of every Last of Corn inwards or outwards the like Summe.

To furnish his journey for *Ireland* he took their Horses, Armour, Cattell. *a Hinc factus a Rot. Pat. est suis Subditis invisus*, Hereupon he came *anno* 2. *R. 2.* to be hated by his People, saith the Bishop of *m. 3.* *London*. And so it seemed: For at his deposing, it was one of the objected Articles against him.

He the first yeare of his Reign imposed upon his Subjects, as formerly his Ancestours had done, a personall service *ab anno primo*, That all the Clergy should array *Armis & Equis competentibus*, with serviceable Horses and Armes, from the age of 16. to 60. *et eos in Militenis & Centenis poni faciant*, and cause them to be entred into Regiments and Companies. And two yeares after commanded all according to their Tenures by service to fit themselves *Equis & Armis*, with Horse and Armes to attend the wars. But these the courses of elder times were about this time much altered, and the King for the most part ever supplied in his wars by contract with the Nobility and Gentry, to serve him with so many men, and so long, and at such a rate as he and they by Indenture accorded; of which there are in the *Pell* plenty yet remaining. Thus under grievous burdens did

^a Tacit. lib. 2.

^b Rot. Parl.
annis 3, 4,
& 5. R. 2.

^c Rot. Parl.
anno 1. H. 4.
n. 32.

Henry 4.

did the State labour continually all his time; for his Treasury being wastfully emptied, was, as Tacitus saith of *Tiberius*, ^a *Scelere replendum*, to be filled some ill way; by which he meant intolerable racking of the people. Hence was it that often in this Kings time ^b the Subjects humbly beg some ease of the insupportable Tallages.

But he little regarding the tears or groans of his heartieſſe People, answered them as *an. 4.* That their Petition and his Honour could not conſiſt together. ^c They again plead extreme poverty, in barre of further relief; complaining that good mony was transported, and the State enforced to uſe baſe; and that the price of Wooll by warrs (to their utter impoveriſhing) was fallen, and that the Kings want was onely the ill government of his Revenues; and therefore crave to have his preſent Officers removed: and very hardly would be drawn any more to tax themſelves, but conditionally, and with this Limitation, That their mony ſhould be received, expended, and accompted for to themſelves, and by Treasurers of their own election; and are content to lend in the end; loading this poor Kings dejected Fortune with the reproachfull weight of theſe their many Burthens.

Henry the fourth in 13. yeares out of the land of his people received twice relief; once *auxilia de medietate Feodorum*, an Aide of the Moiety of the Fees, and again a Noble out of every 20. l. throughout all the Realm. Out of the Goods of the Commons 4 times a Tenth, beſides one for 3. yeares, and the like one and a half for 2. By ſeverall grants and yeares five Fifteens, beſides one for 2. and one for 3. yeares. Out of Staple Com-

Commodities of Wooll, Fells, &c. one Subsidy for one yeare, foure for two apiece, and one for 3. yeares. A Poundage at 8^d. once, four times 12^d. whereof the last was for 2. yeares. The like number and yeares of the Tunnage, the first onely rated at 2. shil. the rest at 3. shil. the Tun. Out of the Moveables of the Clergie thrice a Tenth, and twice a Moiety; as also of every stipendary Minister, Frier, and such manner persons 6. shil. 8^d. apiece. Besides all these of all he took an. 8. a Contribution *ita gravis*, ^{a Hist. Tho. Valsingham} so heavy, that it was granted *ea condicione, ne trahatur in Exemplum, & ut Evidentia post datum Computum cremarentur*, upon this condition, that it should not be made an Example to following times, and that after the Account the Evidences should be burnt.

Next him succeeded his Son the 5. Henry; in Henry 5. whose 9. yeares Reign I find no charge imposed upon the Land of the Subjects. Out of the Goods of the Commons he received 6. times the 10. and the 15. entirely, and once two thirds onely of Staple wares; a Subsidy once for 4. yeares, and after for life: three shillings Tunnage, and 12^d. Poundage for the like terms as the former Subsidies. Thrice he had the Tenth of his Clergie. And in the eighth of his Reign, when the *Chancellour* bewailed to him in Parliament the Feebleness and Poverty of the People by reason of wars and scarcity of mony, he (who of as many attempts as he undertook, *totidem fecit Monumenta victoria*, raised himself so many Monuments of Victory,) yet for redresse and ease of those miseries (as *Livy* saith of an excellent Souldier) *Pacem voluit etiam quia vincere potuit*, he preferred Peace
be-

Henry 6.

because he knew he could overcome. And left in the 9. yeare of his Reign a peaceable succession and *Heire, nimum felix malo suo*, too happy to his own undoing, as the event proved. For retaining nothing *ex paterna Majestate prater speciem nominis*, of his Father's Greatness more then the specious Name of a Great King, by Fear and Facility he laid the way open to his Factious Ambitious kindred, to work themselves into popular Favour, and himself into Contempt: which was soon done by leading the easy King by Expence into Extremity. For besides the Resumptions he took of his own and Fathers Grants, (which was of purpose plotted to make a consumption of Duty and Affection towards him) he out of the old inheritance of his Subjects exacted 6^d. in the pound *anno 14.* and doubled twice that valuation, not onely on all lands purchased from the entrance of *Edward* the first, but of all Freehold and Coppy-hold under 200. *l.* and two in twenty of all above. He further imposed first 6. shil. 8^d. and then 20. shil. upon every Knights Fee. Out of the goods of the Commons he had 6. Tenths, whereof one for 3. yeares, besides 3. Moieties, and one third; of fifteens 3. halfs, one third, and eight entire, of which there was of two a 3 yeares grant. Besides these former, out of the woolls he had 37107 *l.* raised by a Moieity of a 10th. and 15th. and again of all goods 6. shil. 8^d. in the pound. Of the Merchant of Subsidies rated as in former times, he had then by grant once but for a yeare; trebled for three and a half. This Subsidy advanced to 33. shil. 4^d. of *Denisons*, and 53. shil. 4^d. of *Aliens*. The Sack of Wooll was twice granted for 4. years at

at a time, and *an.* 31. for term of the Kings life. Besides a Subsidy alone of *Aliens* goods, Tonnage and Poundage improved to six shillings 8^d. he took in his 18. yeares. And after the Rates of his Fathers time he had it first thrice by his severall grants and yeares, then as often for two yeares, and again by a new grant for 5. yeares, and in the end for term of his life. Of the Clergy he had besides one half of *Dismes*, 4. entire Tenths. And by the State in generall *anno* 31. 2000. Archers maintained for half a yeare at the common Charge. By the *Poll* he exacted *anno* 18. of every Merchant Stranger if a householder 16. shillings a piece, if none 6^d. And *anno* 27. 6. shillings 8^d. every such stranger, and 20^d. of their Clerks. *An.* 13. he had granted for term of life ten pounds a year of all Inhabitants mere *Aliens*, and a third lesse of *Denizons*, and 20 shil. of every Stranger Merchant that came into the land. The first *Monopolies* I find were grouned upon the extremities of these times; for in *anno* 29. the *Spinellos*, Merchants of *Genua*, had by grant for 8000. *l.* the sole Trade of many Staple-Commodities. As the Merchants of *Southampton* had all *Allome* for the like summe. Yet for all the Contributions, Taxes and Shifts, (whereby the impoverished People were enforced to petition redresse; for which a Parliament was *anno* 10. summoned onely,) the Kings Coffers were so empty, and the yearly Revenues so short, as the Lord Treasurer was constrained *an.* 11. to ^{a Rot. Parl.} complain in Parliament of the one, and declared there the other to want 35000. *l.* of the needfull expence, as the best motive to work a Relief from the Common-wealth: which was

Nota First
monopolies.

E

by

^a Rot. Parl. by the people in part effected. ^a But by
 an. 18. Hen. 6. an. 18. the debts were swoln again so great,
 n. 38. that the Parliament was reinforced not onely
 to see them, but to support and victuall his
 household. Thus was this unhappy Princes Reign
 all war and waste : and in the end, as one saith
 of ^b Lepidus, ^a Militibus & ^a fortuna desereba-
^b Ex Pater- tur, being forsaken both of Souldiers and For-
 cylo. tune, he was left a while to a disgraced life,
spoliata quam tueri non poterat dignitate, and
 despoiled of that Dignity which he was not able
 to maintain.

Edward 4.

^c Rot. Parl.

an. 2. & 8.

E. 4.

^d Placita Co-
 rone.

^e Chron. Fa-
 biani.

^f Rot. Parl.

anno 12. E. 4.

n. 8.

^g Rot. Parl.

Edward 5.

Richard 3.

Edward the fourth, ^c besides two resumptions
 not only of the Grants of such Kings as he ac-
 counted *de facto*, and not *de jure* to Reign, but
 also of those made by ^d himself, and that Sea of
 profit that by infinite *Attaintures* flowed daily
 into his Treasury, took notwithstanding of the
 Lords Spirituall and Temporall onely a Tenth
 of their yearly possessions, and of the Commons
 six Tenths, three quarters; and the like propor-
 tion of Fifteens: A *Benevolence* in an. 14. which
^e *Fabian* calleth a new Contribution: And
 charged them ^f anno 12. with wages of his
 Archersto a Summe of 51117. *l.* Of the Mer-
 chanthe had Tonnage and Poundage for term
 of life. Besides of Strangers, as well *Denizons* as
 others, a Subsidie thes 22. yeare of his Reign.
 Leaving his Kingdome in the next to the few
 dayes of his son Edward the fifth. For

*Ostendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, nec ultra
 Esse sinunt.* — The Fates only shewed

him to the world, and took him away again.
 Richard his Uncle succeeded, *homo ingenio-
 sissime nequam*, & *facundus malo publico*, a
 man most ingeniously mischievous, and full of

Art

Art to beguile the people. He to make a just semblance of his unjust entry, besides his Act of Parliament full of dangerous Untruths, dissembled the part of an excellent Prince, making the Commons believe by a Statute, to which he gave first form, as life, discharging them for ever from all exactions called *Benevolences*, that his opinion was, *Ditare majus esse Regium quam ditescere*, that it was more Kinglike to enrich his Subjects then to grow rich himself. Whereas he did but lively imitate *Nero*, that took away the law *Manlia de vectigalibus*, only *ut gratior esset populis*, to ingratiate himself the more with the people. And so all his short Reign I find recorded but once any Tax upon the people, and that was Tenth granted by the Clergy of both Provinces.

Henry the seventh succeeding, resumed in Henry 7. the 3. of his Reign most of the grants of Office made by the Usurper his brother, & assessed upon the land onely of his Subjects but one Aide in an. 19. out of their Goods and Lands a tenth penny, and of their Goods onely 3. times the tenth, five Fifteens, besides a Tenth and Fifteenth arising to 120000. *l.* He took three Subsidies, whereof the last was not above 36000. *l.* ^a and ^a *Fabian*. one *Benevolence*, the proportion of every Alderman being 300. *l.* and the entire Summe of the City of London 9688. *l.* 17. shillings 4^d. Of the Clergie he had twice the Tenth, & 25000. *l.* by way of *Subsidie*. ^b And of them and the Commons 2. Loans; the City of London rated at 6000. *l.* the other not definite in proportion, but so assessed as Commissioners and the Lenders could agree.

^b *Ex litera missa Abbatiss. Barking manu Regis H. 7.*

And aswell to ease the expence of wars, as

^a *Ex litera
Ducis Nor-
folciæ.*

^b *Ex lib. Ac-
quit. int. Re-
gem & Dud-
ly R. C.*

Henry 8.

issue of the good money going over to *Bullen*,
^a he stamped an allayed Coyn then usually
termed *Dandeprats*: A course that necessity af-
ter enforced his Son and Successors to practice,
and is an apparent *Symptome* of a consumed
State. But that whereby he heaped up his masse
of Treasure, (^b for he left in Bullion 4. millions
and a half, besides his Plate, Jewells, and rich
attire of house) was by sale of Offices, redem-
ption of Penalties, dispensing with Laws,
and such like, to a yearly value of 120000.
pounds.

His Successour, reaping the fruit of his Fathers
labour, gave ease of burthen to the Subjects his
first two years; taking within the compasse of
his other 34. three Tenths of the Commons,
four Fifteens, 6. Subsidies, whereof that *an. 4.*
amounted to 16000. *l.* and that *an. 7.* 110000. *l.*
Tonnage he had and *Poundage* once for a year,
and after for term of Life. Of the Clergy 4.
Tenths by one grant, and 3. by severall, every
of them not lesse then 25084. *l.* Of *Subsidies* he
had one of the Province of *Canterbury*, another
of both; the *Stipendary* Ministers there to be
taxed according to the rate of their wages. In
an. 22. they granted a Moiety of all their Goods
and Lands, payable by equal portion in 5. years,
every part arising to 95000. *l.* to the yearly
Revenues of his Crown, by an inhumane spoil
of sacred Monuments, and impious ruine of holy
Churches, if Gods blessing could have accom-
panied so foul an Act. And as these former
Collections he grounded upon Law, so did he
many upon *Prærogative*: As *Benevolences* and
Loans from the Clergy and Commons. Of the
first there were two remarkable, that in *an. 17.*
acted

acted by Commissioners, who as themselves were sworn to Secrecy, so were they to swear all those with whom they conferre or contract. The Rates directed by instructions, as the thirds of all Goods, Offices, Land above 20*l.* and the 4th. under. And although the Recusants (whether from Disobedience or Inability) are threatned with Convention before the Councell, Imprisonment, and Confiscation of Goods; yet in the ^a *Designe* Originall under the Kings hand, it hath so fair a name as an *Amicable Grant*. ^a *Ex originali signat. manu Regis.* The other about ^b *an.* 36. exacteth out of all Goods, Offices, land from 40. shillings to 20*l.* ^b *Ex originali Instructione.* 8^d. in the pound, and of all above, 12^d. And amongst the many Loans, there is none more notorious then that of *an.* 14. ^c which was 10*l.* ^c *Ex instruct. originali anno 14. H. 8.* in the hundred of all Goods, Jewels, Utensils, and land from 20*l.* to 300*l.* and twenty marks of all above, as far as the Subjects Fortune, revealed by the extremity of his own Oath, would extend. And to stop as well intentions if any had been, as expectations of repayment of such Loans, ^d the Parliament in ^d *Rot. Parl. an.* 21. acquitteth the King of every Privy Seal *an.* 21. H. 8. or *Letter Miffive*.

Edward the sixth his Son, besides Tonnage and Poundage for life, *an.* 1. received of his Lay-Subjects six Fifteens, and of both three Subsidies, leaving one of the Temporality ungathered: which his Sister *Mary* remitted in *an.* 1. of her reign; yet after (incited by the *French King* succouring her Rebels, and suffering her money adulterated in his Dominions, purposely to be hither transported, as also to side the quarrell of *Philip* her husband against him) being drawn into wars, she was inforced to presse up-

Q. Mary.

on her people, and (besides the Loan in *an. 1.* for term of life granted unto her by *Parliament*) took five Fifteens of the Commons, and of them and the Clergie three years Subsidies.

Q. Elizabeth Her Sister of happy memory succeeding, besides divers Loans of her people and others in forraign parts, (as *anno 5.* when *William Herle* was dispatched into *Germany* to take up at Interest for 6. years great Summes of money, the like *an. 18.* from the Merchants of *Colen* and *Hamburgh* upon Bond of the City of *London*, and again of *Spinello* and *Pallavicini* upon the former security, strengthened with the assurance also of many of her chiefeft Councellors,) had by grant of her Subjects 38. Fifteens, 20. Subsidies of the Commons, and 18. of the Clergy. All which together rose to a summe of two Millions and 800000. *l.*

Princes extremities beyond the ease of their people by reason of wars.

Credit of Ks. so much impaired, that they could not borrow but upon surety and extreme interest.

^a *Math. Paris.*

^b *Rot. Pat.*

anno 13. E. 3.

m. 13.

HAVING thus far (with as light a hand as I could) drawn down the many and mighty burdens of the Common-wealth, if but with a touch of the Princes Extremities beyond the ease of these former helps I heighten up this draught, it will with much more life and lustre expresse the Figure of wars Misery. ^a The Credit of Kings it hath brought to so low an ebbe, that when by force of necessity they borrowed money, they could not take it up but by collaterall security, and extreme Interest. As *Edward* the 3. in the Patent to ^b *William de la Poole* confesseth, that *propter defectum pecunie negotia sua fuerunt periculossime retardata*, for want of money his affaires were dangerously delayed, (they are the words of the record) and the honour of him and his Royall Army

magna

magna fuit depressioni patenter expositus, & progressus non sine dedecore suo perpetuo impeditus, he was brought to a manifest low condition, and his proceedings to his great dishonour had been constantly hindered; if *De la Poole* had not as well supplied him with the credit of his Security, as with the best ability of his own Purse. For which service he honoured him and his posterity with the degree of *Baronet*, and 500 *l.* land of inheritance.

The interest of *Henry 3.* *ad plus quam centum quotidie libras adscenderat, ita ut immineret tam Clero quam Populo Anglie Desolatio & Ruina*, came to more then a hundred pound a day, so that present ruine & desolation hung over the heads as well of the Clergy as the People.

Q. Mary a borrowed in *Flanders* at 14. in the hundred, besides *Brocage* upon collateral security.

Ex Instruct. Thomæ Gre-sham, anno

The late *Queene* was inforced b to the like thrice with Strangers upon the City of *Londons* assurance, as before, and with her c own Subjects after upon Mortgage of Land. A course more moderate then either that of the first *William*, that took out of Churches such money as severall men had committed thither for more security: d or that of *Charles* the fifth, that to repaire the waste of his *Italian* wars, went in person to *Barcelona*, to seize into his hands a Masse of money called *Depositem Tabula*, which as well Strangers as Subjects had there laid up in Sanctuary. But these are not the conditions of Princes of our times onely: for in the lives of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Vespasian*, *Suetonius* of them severally writeth, *Exhaustus*

1557.
b *Ex Instruct. willielm. Herle* 16.
August. an. 9. Eliz. Similiter
c *Thomæ Gre-sham. 1563.*
d *Ex litera Edm. Lee orat. Regis H. 8. in Hisp. anno 28.*

& egenus calumniis rapinisque intendit animum, being drawn dry and grown poor, they bent their minds to Calumnies and Rapines. For *Perniciosares est in Imperante tenuitas*, Want in a Prince is a dangerous thing; and as *Theodoricus* said, *Periculosissimum animal est Rex pauper*, a Poor King is the most dangerous creature living.

Kings enforced to abate their hospitality.

^a *Ex Rot. Pat.*
18. H. 6.

^b *Ex hist. majori Math. Paris.*

It hath abated the Regalties of Houses; *an.* 16. of *Richard* the second, and 18.^a of *Henry* 6. when as well from want of means, as the Subjects Petitions in Parliament, (for *Expediissima est ratio augendi Censuum detrachere Sumptibus*, the readiest way to raise the Revenue is to take down Expenses,) they have much lessened their Hospitality; their Tables being either defrayed by their Subjects, as of *Henry* the 6. or as *Henry* the 3. when by necessity ^b *ita consuetudine Regalis Mensae hospitalitas abbreviata fuit, ut (postposita solita verecundia) cum Abbatibus, Clericis, & viris satis humilibus hospitia quasivit & prandia*; the wonted hospitality of the Kings Table was sunk so low, that (without farther shame) he many times lodged and dieted with Abbots, Clerks, and very mean Persons.

Kings enforced to pawn and sell their Dominions.

^c *Rot. Pat.*
anno 51. H. 3.
m. 17.

^d *Ex contract. orig. & Hist. Norman.*

It hath caused our Kings to sell and alienate the possessions of the Crown: as *Henry* the ^c 3. who gave to *Edward* his son *Licentiam impignorandi terram Vasconiae*, leave to pawn the *Dutchie of Gascoign*; And caused himself not long after by the like occasions, to sell for 300000. l. (except some pittances reserved) the ^e entire *Signiorie of Normandie*. What our late Mistris and her Father did, is yet fresh in memory. But this mischief hath trenched deep into

into the Fortunes and Affections of the Subjects, ^a *Rot. Vasc.* 5. when Princes to repair the breach of their own ^{E. 2. Rot.} Revenues, have often resumed the possessions of ^{finium an. 8.} their people; as ^a *Edward* the second anno 5, 8, *Rot. cui titu-* & 10. *Omnes donationes, per Regem factas ad* ^{lus, extract.} *damnum & diminutionem Regis & Corona sua,* ^{de donacionib.} all the Grants made by the King to the lessening ^{a. 9. & 10. E. 2.} and prejudicing of the King and his Crown. Kings enforced to make ^b *Richard* the second an. 1. did the like of all Grants made to unworthy persons by his Grand- ^{Refumption} father, and recalled all Patents dated since 40. ^{of their} of *Edward* 3. Thus did *Henry* ^c the 5. an. 1. ^b *Rot. Parl.* 7. and ^d *Henry* the 6. in the 28. of his Reign, anno 1. ^{R. 2.} *Edward* the 4. in an. 3. with all Offices of his ^c *Rot. Parl. Crown granted either by the *Usurper* or his ^{anno 1. Hen. 5} Brother. Neither is this in it self unjust, since ^{n. 12.} as well by reason of State as Rules of best Go- ^d *Rot. Parl. vernment, the Revenues and Profits ^e *que ad* ^{anno 28. H. 6.} *sacrum Patrimonium Principis pertinent,* ^{& E. 4.} which belong to the sacred Patrimony of ^e *Ex legibus* the Prince, should remain firme and un- ^{Theodos. &} broken. ^{Valentinian,} ^{in Codice.}**

But when neither Credit, Frugality, or Sale ^{Ks. enforced} of Lands would stop the gulf of want, our ^{to pawn and} Princes have been so neer beset, as with *Nerva* sell their ^{and} *Antonius* the Emperors to sell and pawn Jewells. ^f *Rot. Pat. their Jewells. The Archbishop of York had ^{anno 26. H. 3.} power from *Henry* 3. an. 26. ^f (in wars beyond ^{m. 1. Similiter} Sea) *impignorandi localia Regis ubicunque in* ^{an. 56. H. 3.} *Anglia pro pecunia perquirenda,* to pawn the ^{in 21. m.} Kings Jewells any where in England to raise ^g *Rot. Pat. money. ^g *Edward* the first sendeth *Egidius* ^{claus. an. 2.} *Andevar ad localia sua impignoranda,* to ^{E. 1. m. 7.} pawn his Jewells. ^h *Edward* the 3. pawneth ^h *claus. an. 1. his Jewells to pay the *L. Beaumont* and the ^{E. 3.} Strangers their wages in war, The *Black* Prince ^{Tho. Wal-} ^{was} ^{singham,}***

was constrained to break his Plate into Money to pay his Souldiers.

^a *Ex originali* ^a Richard the second pawned *Vasa aurea & diversa Iocalia*, vessels of Gold and divers Jewells to Sir Robert Knowles. ^b Henry the 4.

^b Pat. anno 3. an. 3. to a Merchant for money *invadiavit Tabellam & Trifellas suas Argenteas de Hispania*, ingaged his Tablet and stools of Silver which he had from Spain. ^c Henry the 6. ga-

^c Pat. an. 10. Hen. 6. geth and selleth to the Cardinal of Winchester

Pat. anno 12. and others an. 10.th. 12.th. and 29. ^d many par-

H. 6. m. 13. cells of his rich Jewells. And the late Queen in

^d Pat. an. 29. the end of her dayes (to ease her Subjects) did the

H. 6. m. 20. like with many in the Tower.

Kings enforced to pawn their Regall Crown. And Extremitie hath yet stretched some of our

^e Pat. Pars 1. Kings to so high a stain of Shift, that Edward

an. 17. E. 3. the third *invadiavit magnam Coronam Anglie*, pawned his Imperiall Crown 3. severall

^f Pat. an. 24. times; an. 17. in partibus transmarinis in for-

m. 21. reign parts, and twice to Sir Iohn Weseham his

^g Claus. an. 30. Merchant, first in the ^f 24. and after ^g an. 30.

E. 3. Com. in whose custody it remained 8. yeares. To

^h Pat. anno 5. Henry Bishop of Winchester Henry the 5. *invadiavit magnam Coronam auream*, gaged his

H. 3. m. 23. imperiall Crown of Gold in the 5. of his Reign.

ⁱ Ex historia Guicciardini. And when Henry the third had laid to gage

^j Pat. anno 5. *omnia Insignia Regalia*, all his Robes and

H. 3. m. 23. Kingly Ornaments, and upon assurance of re-

^k Pat. anno 5. delivery or satisfaction had pawned *Aurum & Iocalia Feretri S. Edwardi Confessoris*, the

Gold and Jewells belonging to the Shrine of S. Edward the Confessour, (A course more mo-

derate then by force to have taken, as William the Conquerour did the Chalice and Shrines of other Churches, or as i Clement the 7. who to pay the Souldiers of Charles the fifth melted the

Conse-

Consecrated Vessels) was in the end, when he had neither means of his own left nor reputation with others, constrained to beg relief of his Subjects in this low strain, ^a *Pauper sum, omni de-* ^a *Ex his.*
stitutus Thesauro; necesse habeo ut me iuuetis: S. Albani.
nec aliquid exigo nisi per gratiam; I am poor,
 and have no Treasure left; ye must needs relieve me: neither do I demand any thing but of your mere love and courtesy: And turning to the Abbot of Ramsey, to say, *Amice, obnix sup-*
plico quatenus me iuvas mihi centum libras
conferendo, My friend, I beseech thee for Gods sake to help me with 100. pound: adding with-
all majorem Elcemosynam fore sibi iuvamen
conferre pecuniamve, quam alicui ostiatim
mendicanti, that it would be a greater deed of Charity to contribute to his Wants, then to give to one that begged from door to door. So that of the waste of these times and want of those Princes I may truly with the Satyrist say,

Ossa vides Regum vacuis exuta medullis.

Thou seest the Bones of Kings spoild of their Marrow.

IT now resteth by some few particulars to ob- In place of
 serve with what Wealth we have returned spoile the
 home, loaden with the Spoils of our Enemies; Souldiers re-
 since no motives are so powerfull to the Com- turn oppres-
 mon greedy People as the hopes of gain, which sed with ex-
 will easily enforce them treme Beg-

b Ire super gladios, superque Cadavera patrum,
Et caesos calcare Duces, —

b Lucan. de
Bello Civilis
lib. 7.

Tread upon Swords, and on their Fathers Graves,
 And spurn their slaughter'd Captains, —

In

In the Expeditions of Henry 2. their pur-
 a *Math. Paris* chases were so great, that the a *Londoners* were
 pag. 580. more grieved at the intolerable Beggeries that
 the King and his Army brought back, then for
 the expence of their own monyes; For

Cum labor in damno est crescit mortalis egestas;

When Toil brings Loss, Begg'ry must needs in-
 crease.

The same King, although called in by the
 b *Hist. Mat.* Nobility of France b in Faction against their
 Paris p. 1358 Master, returned no better rewarded then *Con-*
sumpta pecunia infinita, & Nobilibus & Mi-
litibus innumeralibus vel Morti datis vel infr-
mitati, vel fame attenuatis, vel ad extremam
reductis paupertatem, with the having spent an
 infinite deal of money, his Nobles and Soul-
 diers without number being either slain, or sick-
 ly, or maimed, or half-starved, or else reduced
 to extreme poverty.

Innocentius the Pope repayed the expence of
 Henry the 3. and his people in his *Sicilian* Ser-
 vice with no better wages then this Scoffe. That
 c *Math. Paris* England was c *Puteus inexhaustus quem nul-*
 pag. 909. *lus poterat exficcare,* a Well not to be emptied
 which no man could draw dry. What the suc-
 ceeding times afforded may be well gathered
 out of the many Petitions in Parliament, 22.
 Edward 3. 4, and 7. of Richard 2. 8. of Henry 5.
 and 10. of Henry 6. ever complaining of the
 extreme Beggery the people brought home,
 and desiring some speedy Relief.

The Treasure d Henry the 8. spent in aide of
 d *Ex lib. Car-*
 din. wolfei ad *Maximilian* about recovery of Verona nul-
 Card. Soderin. lum aliud factum nisi damnum & dedecus pe-
 perit

perit, brought him nothing else but Loss and Dishonour. For the *Emperour* having his turn served, delivered, contrary to Contract, that City to the *French*, threatening to confederate with them, *ni Rex ei continuo persolveret*, unless the King would forthwith pay him down a great summe of money; believing (as the words are) *Minis & terrore ab hoc Rege pecuniam posse haberi*, that this King would part with his money upon threatnings and great words. For the great Army of this King sent over into *France*, and the Million almost of Crowns he supplied the *Emperour* and Duke of *Burbon* with in their wars of *Millan*, his People enduring new and unheard of Taxes at home, and his Souldiers great Extremity abroad, he was himself at the last of all, (their ends effected) having spent the Treasure of his Father, and the Bounty of his Subjects, forsaken and left as the Pasquill painted him, *inter Moysem, Christum & Mahumetem*, berwixt *Moses, Christ* and *Mahomet*, with this word, *Quo me vertam nescio*, Which way to turn me I know not. For 2. Millions of a Crowns bestowed in a *Ex Instrum.* purchase of *Tournay*, not without suite of his *Rich. wing-* own, he delivered it with little or no recom- field. pence: & rated his potentiall Interest of *France* at no greater Summe then an Annuity ^b of *Ex lit. Tho.* 100000. Crowns. What from the 30. of this *Wolsey Episc.* King untill the last of his son *Edward* the sixth *Lincoln.* for ^c 3173478. *l.* 15^{s.} 4^{d.} spent at Sea and *Ex compute* Land in Forraign wars, this State received of *in Archivis* inrichment, it seemeth so mean, as not worthy *Rob. Com.* any place either in Story or Accompts. *Salisb.*

Untill the late *Queen* was drawn into wars, she had in Treasure 700000. *l.* but after she was

^a *Ex tractat.*
anno 1598.

was once intangled, it cost her before the 30. of her Reign 1517351. *l.* at which time she was but entering into the vastness of her future Charge: For the annuall expence of 126000. *l.* in the Low-Countries, from 1587. untill 1593. the yearly disbursement for ^a *Flushing* and the *Brill* 28482. *l.* the debts of the States 800000. *l.* and the Aides of the *French King* since he attained to that Crown to above 401734. *l.* was after that time. Thus by reason of warre, besides Taxes upon her People to the Summe of two Millions, and 800000. *l.* by Subsidies, Tenths & Fifteens, she hath spent of her Lands, Jewells and Revenues an infinite proportion.

^b *Ex computo*
deliberat.

Domino The-
saur. Bur-
leigh.

^c *Ex computo*

Joannis
Hawkins
Thesaur. Na-
vie.

* *Hor. Epo. 7.*

As for the imaginary Profit grown by the many rich Spoils at Sea and Attempts in *Spain*, it may be well cast up by two examples of our best Fortunes. The Journey of *Cales* ^b defrayed not the Charge to her Majesty by 64000. *l.* And our times of most advantage by Prizes between ^c anno 30. and 34. of the *Queen*, wherein we received but 64044. *l.* defrayed not the Charge of her Navy, arising in the same yeares to 275761. *l.* As to the greatest Losse, expence of *Christian Blood*, it may well suffice to bemoan with * *Horace*,

Parumne Campis atque Neptuno super-
fusum est Latini sanguinis?
Neque hic Lupis mos nec fuit Leonibus
Unquam, nisi in dispar feris.

Is there as yet so little Latine Blood
Spilt on the Fields and Flouds?
Nor Wolves nor Lions do we ever find
So cruel to their kind.

The

The last motive from Utility is, increase of Re-
 venues to the publick Treasury by addition of Foreign Do-
 minions al-
 of Foreign Dominions. Which can receive no waies charge,
 answer so full of satisfaction, as to instance the no benefit.
 particular Summes, exhausted in every Age to
 retain them. Beginning first with the Dutchie Example in
 of Normandy : For retention whereof William Normandy.
 the Conquerour from hence, (as the ^a Author ^a Math. Par.
 saith) laden *Thesauris innumeris*, with un-
 countable Treasure, exacted *sive per fas sive per*
nefas, in *Normanniam transfretavit*, gathe-
 thered together by hook or by crook, wasted
 over into Normandy. His Son ^b *ad retinendam* ^b *Ex Legibus*
Normanniam, *Angliam excoxiavit*, to retain *antiquis*.
 Normandy flayed off Englands skin. The same
 end by ^c Henry the first, *Anglia fuit bonis spo-* ^c *Ex walt.*
liata, England was despoiled of its Goods. His
^d Grand-child took *Scutagium pro Exercitu* ^d *Ex lib. Ru-*
Normannia, a Scutage for his army in Nor-
 mandy 3. times at a high rate; and was infor-
 ced then against incursions of the French to
 build and man ^e 13 Castles *de novo & integro*, ^e *Ex lib. Pip-*
 intirely new. ^{nell.}

Richard the first ^f exacted heavily upon his ^f *Rad. Cog-*
 people, *ut potentes homines Regis Francia sibi* *geshall.*
conciliaret, ut terram propriam Normannie
tutaretur, therewith to make himself friends
 amongst the most powerfull Courtiers of France,
 so to keep quietly his possessions in Normandy.

King John ^g as wearied with the Charge neg- ^g *Math. Par.*
 lected it: And his Son ^h feeling a burden more ^h *Ex Archiv.*
 then benefit, resigned his interest there for a
 little Money. When it was again reduced by
 Henry the fifth, ⁱ the judgement in Council was, ⁱ *Ex origin.*
 That the keeping of it would be no lesse of ex- ^{Instr. Domini}
 pence then to war forth for all France. In the ^{Scrope.}
 quiet

^a *Ex Libro Domini Carew de anno 1. & 2. H. 6.* quiet possession of his Son *Henry*^a (*John Duke of Bedford* then Regent) this *Dutchie* cost the Crown of England 10942. *l.* yearly. In *an. 10.* it appeareth by the Accompts of the Lord *Cromwell* Treasurer of England, that out of the *Ex Rot. Par. de an. 11. H. 6* Kings Exchequer at *Westminster* the entertainment of the Garrison and Governour was defrayed, the Rents of the Dutchy not supporting the charge ordinary. ^c When *Richard Duke of York* was in the 15. year of *Henry the 6.* Regent, the certain Expence overballanced the Receipt 34008. *l.* And *an. 27.* ^d the Lord *Hastings* Chancellor of France declareth in Parliament, that *Normandy* was not able to maintain it self. But thus it continued not much longer; for this Crown was both eased of the *Dutchy* and Charge shortly.

Aquitain, Gascoign, Guien.

^e *Rot. liber. anno 26. H. 3.*

^f *Rot. an. 22. H. 6.*

^g *Math. Paris pag. 578.*

Of the Principality of *Aquitain*, the *Duchie* of *Gascoign*, *Guien* and the Members, I find the state thus in record. In the 26. of *Henry 3.* ^c there was issued from the Treasurer & Chamberlains at *Westminster* 10000. *l.* for payments in *Gascoign*; besides an infinite proportion of Victualls and Munition thither sent. To retain this *Dutchie* in Duty and possession, ^f this king was inforced to pawn his Jewells, being *ere alieno graviter obligatus*, *Thesauris*, *Donativis*, *Tallagiis*, & *extorsionibus in Anglia consumptis*; very much indebted, and having spent all his Treasures, Grants, Tallages, and other Sweepings in England. Besides the people there at his departure *extorserunt ab eo confessionem quadraginta millia Marcarum*, forced an acknowledgement from him of 40000. Marks. And a Story of that time saith of *ann. 38.* ^g *Ille per multos labores & expensas inutiliter re-*

recuperavit Castra sua propria Vasconia, with a great deal of toyle and expense, he unprofitably recovered his own Castles in *Gascoign*: of which the Labour was more then ever the Benefit could be.

And thus it appeareth to have continued; for *an. 17.* of *Edward* the second, the money disbursed out of *England* to defray the surcharge there came to 46595. *l.* 9. shillings 7^{d.} besides 29660. *Quarters* of Grain, and of Beeves and Bacons an infinite proportion. In the first of *Edward* the 3. the illues of *Gascoign* were 10000. *l.* above the Revenues. The *Signiories* in *Aquitain* cost in 8. years ending 36. of this King, 192599. *l.* 4. shill. 5^{d.} for *infecis* onely. It was delivered in Parliament, *an. 1. Rich. 2.* that *Gascoign*, and some few other places that were then held in *France*, cost yearly this Crown 42000. *l.* And in the 17^{th.} of this King a Parliament was summoned for no other cause especiall, then to provide money to clear the annuall expences of those parts. The charge of *Bordeaux* but one Town, surmounting in half a year all Rents and perquisites there 2232. *l.* As *Fronsack* in *Aquitain* 5787. *l.* for double that time; when the intire *Dutchie* exceeded not 820. *l.* in yearly Revenues.

The Charge of *Guien* all the Reign of *Henry 4.* was 2200 *l.* annuallly out of the Exchequer of *England*. By account *Aquitain* (besides *Guien* 6606. *l.*) was the first of *Henry* the fifth in surplussage of charge 11200. *l.* & the Town of *Bordeaux* the 5. first years of the same King 6815. *l.* In the 11. of *Henry* the 6. *Sir Iohn Radcliffe* Steward of *Aquitain* received from

a Ex Comput. Willielm. de Otterhampton;

anno 17. E. 2.

b Pat. an. 1.

B. 3.

c Ex Comput. Richardi

Longley an. 36.

E. 3. in The-

saur. Regis

westmon.

in Rot. Aquit-

ania.

d Rot. Parl.

anno 1. R. 2.

m. 24.

e Rot. Parl.

anno 17. R. 2.

f Ex Comput.

walr. de

weston.

g Ex Comput.

Tho. Swin-

burn anno 10.

H. 4.

h Ex Comput.

Ioannis Tiptoft

an. 1. H. 5.

i Ex Comput.

will. Clif-

ford & Robert.

Holme an. 5.

H. 5.

k Ex Rot. Parl.

an. 1. H. 6.

the

the Treasury of England *pro vadiis suis*, &c. 2729. *l.* and for expense in custody of *Fron-sack* Castle onely he payed 666. *l.* 13. shill. the profits of the *Dutchie* no wayes able to cleare the Accompts.

Britanny.

^a *Ex Math.*
Paris.

The Benefit we reaped by any footing in Britanny, may in a few Examples appeare. ^a Henry the third confesseth that *ad defensionem Britanniae non sufficiebant Angliae Thesauri, quod jam per triennium comprobavit*, that the Treasure of England would not suffice to maintain Britanny, which he had found to be true upon 3 years tryall: and left in the end *tam laboriosis expensis amplius fatigari*, to tire himself farther with such toilsome expenses.

Brest.

^b *Rot. Parl.*

Anno 2. R. 2.

Ex Comput.

Tho. Parry.

Cust. Castri de

Brest, a. 9. R. 2.

Callis.

^c *Ex Comput.*

Williel. Hor-

well in The-

saur. Regis.

^d *Ex comput.*

Richardi

Eccleshal de

annis 28, 29,

& 30. E. 3.

^e *Ex Rot. Par.*

anno 2. R. 2.

^f *Ex Comput.*

Rob. Thorley.

^g *Ex Comput.*

Simonis de

Batz.

The Town of *Brest* ^b cost Richard the second 12000. Marks a year, and it stood him in *an. 9.* in 13118. *l.* 18. shillings.

For *Callis*, I will deliver with as much shortness as may be, from the first acquisition untill the losse, in every age the Expense (for the most part either out of the Treasury or Customs of England,) disbursed. ^c From the 18. of Edward the 3. untill the 21. in which space it was taken, the Charge amounted to 337400. *l.* 9. shil. 4^d. *Anno 28.* of the same King for little more then a yeare 17847. *l.* 5. shillings. In *an. 29.* 30581. *l.* 18^d. for 2. years compleat. ^d In 30. received by Richard de Eccleshal Treasurer of *Callis* from the Bishop of Winchester Treasurer of England, 17847. *l.* ^e And in the yeare following 26355. *l.* 15. shillings. ^f In the second of Richard 2. *de receptis forinsecis*, which was money from the Exchequer at Westminster, 20000 *l.* for 3 yeares compleat. ^g *Anno 5.* 19783. *l.* For three yeares ending ^a *anno 10.*

^a anno 10. 77375. l. For the like term untill ^a *Ex Comput.*
^{ann.} 13. 48609. l. 8. shillings. And ^b for the *Rog. de wald.*
 4. succeeding yeares 90297. l. 19. shil. And for *anno 13. R. 2.*
 the last 3 yeares of his Reign, 85643. l. *& 15.*

From the end of ^c *Richard 2.* untill the 4 of ^d *Ex Comput.*
Henry 4. for 3. yeares ^d 62655. l. 17. shillings. *Joannis Bern-*
 And for one succeding, 19783. l. The Charge *nam, anno 23.*
 in Victuall and Provision for 2. yeares 5. *R. 2.*
 moneths in this Kings Reign ^e 46519. l. 15. *Ex Comput.*
 shillings. *Ro. Thorley.*

In the first 4. and peaceable yeares of his Son ^d *Ex Comput.*
 there was issued from the Treasury of England *Nich. Uske.*
^f 86938. l. 10. shil. for this place. And from ^e *Ex Comput.*
^{anno} 8. untill the 9. 65363. l. It cost *Henry the* ^f *Ex Comput.*
⁸ 6. above all Revenue 9054. l. 5. shillings in *Rob. Salvin,*
^{an.} 11. The Subsidies in England were ^{an.} 27. *de annis 5.*
^h levied in Parliament to defray the wages and *H. 5.*
 reparation of *Callis.* And the ⁱ 31. of this King ^g *Rot. Parl.*
 there was a Fifteen and 2. shil. of every Sack *an. 11. H. 6.*
 of Wooll imposed upon the Subjects here to ^h *Rot. Parl.*
 the same end. ^k And the Parliament of 33. was *anno 27.*
 assembled of purpose to order a course for dis- ⁱ *Rot. Parl.*
 charge of wages and expence at *Callis:* and the *anno 31.*
 like authority directed 4. of *Edward the fourth,* ^k *Rot. Parl.*
^l that the Souldiers there should receive Vi- *anno 33.*
 ctuals and salary from out of the Subsidies of ^l *Rot. Parl. 4.*
England. The disbursement thereof one yeare *E. 4.*

being 12771. l. ^m And in the 16. of the same ^m *Ex comput.*
 King for like term there was *de Portu London,* *Majoris Sta-*
Hull, Sancti Botolphi, Poole, & Sandwico, *pule anno 1.*
 Ports of London, Hull, Boston, Pool, & Sandwich, *R. 3.*
 12488. l. paid to the Treasury of *Callis.* ⁿ And *Ex comput.*
 in ^{an.} 20. from out of the Customes of the same *origin. inter*
 Ports to the same end 12290. l. 18. shillings. *Chartas Ro-*
^o And in 23. 11102. l. And the year follow- *berti Cotton.*
 ing 10788. l. The settled ordinary wages of ^o *Ex comput.*
 the *Domini Lisle.*

the Garrison in this Town yearly was 24.
 a *Ex lib. de* a Henry 8. 8834. l. And about 30th. when the
expens. Bellor. Viscount Lisle was Deputy, 8117. l. And from
 H. 8. & E. 6. the 30th. of this King to the end of his Son
in Museo Edw. 6. this place did cost the Crown 371428. l.
Com. Salisbur. 18. shil. From the first purchase of it by Edward
 the 3. untill the losse thereof by Queen Mary,
 it was ever a perpetuall issue of the Treasure of
 this Land, which might in continuance have
 rather grown to be a burthen of Danger. to us,
 then any Fort of Security. For from the waste
 of money, which is *Nervus Reipublicæ*, the Si-
 new of a Common-wealth, as *Ulpian* saith, we
 may conclude with *Tacitus*, *Dissolutionem Im-*
perii docet, si fructus quibus Respub. sustinetur
diminuantur, it foreshews the ruine of an Em-
 pire, if that be impaired which should be the
 sustenance of the Common-wealth. And there-
 fore it was not the worst opinion (at such time
 as the Captivity of Francis the French King in-
 cired b Henry the 8. to put off that Kingdome,
 b *Ex litera* although in the close *major pars vicit melio-*
Archiep. Cant. *rem*, the greater party out-voted the better,) that
 c *Card. Wolsey.* to gain any thing in France would be more
 chargeable then profitable, and the keeping
 more then the enjoying. The issue was in *Tour-*
nay, Bullen, and this Town manifest. Besides
 the jealousy that Nation ever held over our de-
 signes and their own liberty. For as *Gracia li-*
bera esse non potuit dum Philippus Gracia Com-
pedes tenuit, Greece could never be free so long
 as Philip had the Fetters of Greece in his cu-
 stody; so as long as by retention of *Callis* we
 had an easy descent into, and convenient place
 to trouble the Country, a Fetter to intangle
 them, they neither had assurance of their own
 quiet

quiet, nor we of their Amity. And it was not the least Argument from *Conueniencie* in the detention of *Callis* (after the 8 yeares expired of Re-delivery) used by the *Chancellour of France*,

^a That we should gain much more in assured peace, which we could never have so long as we were Lords of that Town, then by any benefit it did or could yield us. It was never but a Pike and Quarrell between the two Realms: For upon every light displeasure, either Princes would take by and by to *Callis*, and make war there. *God* hath made a separation naturall betwixt both *Nations*, a sure wall and defence,

Et penitus toto diuisos Orbe Britannos;

That is, the English were divided from all the world.

But a little more to inform the weight of these Charges, it is not amisse to touch (by way of comfort) that from which we are so happily by the infinite blessings of God and benignity of a Gracious King delivered; and also that other of burthen still, (though much lightened) untill conformity of Affections and designs of Councils shall further effect a Remedie.

The Charge of *Barwick* and the *Frontiers* in 20. ^b *Edward* 3. was 3129. *l.* for three yeares. In the end of *Richard* 2. & entrance of *Henry* the 4. ^c 10153. *l.* And ^d 11. of *Henry* 6. the Custodie of the Marches 4766. *l.* In the 2. *Maria* the annuall Charge of *Barwick* was 9413. *l.* ^e And in *an.* 2. *Elizabeth* 13430. *l.* And *an.* 26. 12391. *l.*

The Kingdome of *Ireland*, beyond the Revenues, was 29. *E.* 3. 2285. *l.* *An.* 30. 2880. *l.* and ^h *an.* 50. 1808. *l.* All the time of *Richard* 2. it never defrayed the charges; And came short

^a *Ex litera*
Thoma Smith
Secret. anno
1567.3. Maii.

^b *Ex comput.*
Joannis
Tiptoft.

^c *Ex comput.*
Hen. Percy,

anno 1. H. 4.
^d *Parl. an. 11.*

H. 6.
^e *Ex museo*
Com. Salis-
bury.

^f *Ex comput.*
Williel. de
Brumleigh.
Barwick.

^g *Ex comput.*
Nicol. Episc.
Meth, an. 30.
Ed. 3.

^h *Ex comput.*
Tho. Scurley
anno 50. E. 3.

Ireland.
ⁱ *Ex comput.*
Joan. Spencer,
de annis R. 2.

^a *Ex Rot. Par.* in 11. *Henry 6.* 4000. Marks ^a of annuall
anno 11. H. 6. issues. The Revenue there in *omnibus exitibus*
& proficuis, in all the rents and profits yearly,
 by Accompt of *Cromwell* Lord Treasurer, not
 above 3040. *l.* But passing over these elder
 times; in the Reign of the late *Queen*, when the
 yearly Revenue was not 15000. *l.* the expence
 for 2. yeares ^b ending 1571. amounted to

^b *Ex annotat.*

Dom. Burleigh

ex Museo

Com. Salis-
bury.

^c *Ex comput.*

Rad. Lane.

^d *Ex comput.*

in Museo

Com. Salis-

bury Thesaur.
Anglie.

116874. *l.* In *anno 1584.* for lesse then 2 yeares
 came it to 86983. *l.* ^c The charge there in two
 yeares of *S. Iohn Parrots* government ending 1586.
 was 116368. *l.* In *anno 1597.* the Receipt not
 above 25000. *l.* the issue was 91072. *l.* And
 when in 35. *Elizabeth* the Rents and Profits of
 that Kingdome exceeded not 27118. *l.* the
 Disbursements in 7 moneths were 171883. *l.*
 The Charge 1601. ^d for 9 moneths 167987. *l.*
 And for the two yeares following accounted by
 the allayed money 670403. *l.* And in the first
 of the King, 84179. *l.* Whose government al-
 though it hath blessed both us and that King-
 dome with the benefit of Peace, yet hath it not
 delivered himself from a large and yearly ex-
 pence here for supportation of that State out of
 his own Treasure. And thus far in answer of
 the Argument from increase of Revenue by for-
 reign Dominions.

Addition of
 any foreign
 Title no Ho-
 nour.

As to the Arguments of Honour by addition of
 Titles and foreign Territories; it may suffice in
 answer, That so long as this Crown was actual-
 ly possessed of any such Signiorie, the Tenure
 and Service did ever bring with it a note and
 badge of Vassallage; then which nothing to so
 free a Monarch as the King of England (who is
^c *Monarcha in Regno, & tot & tanta habet*

^e *Baldus.*

Pri-

Privilegia quot Imperator in Imperio, a Monarch in his Kingdome, and hath as many and as large Priviledges therein as an Emperour in his Empire,) could be more in blemish or opposition. To write *Domino Regi nostro Francia*, To our Lord the King of France, as during the time we held the *Provinces in France* we usually did in all our Letters and publick Contracts with that Crown, can be called no addition of Honour. And whether upon every command to act in person those base services of *Homage* and *Fidelity*, as first in putting off the *Imperiall Crown*, the kneeling low at the foot of that King, and taking an oath to become *Homme liege du Roys de France*, a liege subject to the Kings of France, &c. we in performing so the duties of a Subject, do not much more disparage the dignity of a Sovereign, is no question of doubt. From these considerations of Reputation and Honour, (the greatest stayes that support Majestie, and retain Obedience) our Kings of England have as far as to the forfeit of those Signiories, either avoided or refused the services. As King Iohn did Normandy; and Edward the 2. resigned to his Son the Dutchie of Aquitain, to put off the act of homage from himself, to whom it could not in respect of his Regaltie but be a dishonour. As appeareth in Henry the 2. who having made his Son Con-
sortem Imperii, a King of England with him, *Homagium à Filio noluit* (saith the Record) *quia Rex fuit, sed securitatem accepit*; would not receive Homage of him, because he was a King, but took his Security. In the 17. of Richard 2. the Lords and Justices would not consent to a Peace with France, unlesse the King might not

do *Homage*, they held it so base, supposing thereby the liberty of the Kings Person and Subject wronged. And thus much of the little *Reputation* that either in *Title* or *Territory* those subordinate *Dutchies* in *France* added to this Crown.

Stile of
France re-
strained by
petition in
Parliament.

As for the *Kingdome* of *France*, the people of *England* were so little in love with that Title, as any *Honour* to them, that by Acts of Parliament 14. *Edward* 3. and 8. *Edward* 5. they provided that the Subjects of *England* should owe no Obedience to the King as King of *France*, nor the Kingdome of *England* be in any wise subjected by such *Union* to that Crown.

France pos-
sessed would
leave us to
the misery
of a province

And so much we have ever been in fear of that place, lest it might leave this State to the misery of a *Provinciall* Government: as in 17. of *Henry* 6. the Commons urged to contribute for the recovery of that Crown, answered, that the gaining of any footing in *France* would induce the Kings abroad there, and by such absence cause great decay and desolation in this State; besides the transport of our Money in the mean time, which would enrich that Countrey, and impoverish the Realm at home, whereby we should justly again say, *a Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie poscit*, The Britans are every day begging to be slaves, every day giving money for it.

*a Tacit. in vita
Agricolæ.*

To enterprife
any war, not
so easy.

The last motive is, the advantage we now have of greater *Facilitie* and *assurance* of Success in any forreign enterprife, by this happy *Union* of both Kingdoms, then ever any of our Ancestours had.

To

To which in answer nothing can be more full, Meanes of then laying down the motives and means that succeſſe followed on the Kings of this Realm to attempt and merly.

prosperouſly effect their undertakings in other parts, weigh how they ſuite theſe times, and whether that any or all the advantages we now have may be to them of equall worth and valuation. The firſt conſideration is in *Place*, the next in *Perſon*. In the wars of *France* (whether thoſe for the defence of particular *Signiories*, or competition of the intire Kingdome) we had ever Ports to land at, & Forts to retire to, which now we have not. The coaſt of *Normandy* was our own, by which we might enter the miſt of *France*. And *Edward 3.* when he intended to annoy the Eaſt part, ſided with *Montfort* againſt *Charles de Bloys*, whom he inveſted with the *Dutchie of Britain*, that ſo he might have there an eaſy footing. Thus by leave of his Confederats in *Flanders* he had ſafe entrance for all his Army to invade the other ſide, and a ſure retreat, when upon any occaſion he would come back, as he did to *Antwerp*. And whereſoever any army may have a quiet deſcent, the greateſt difficultie is overcome; for the reſt conſiſteth in *Chance*, wherein Fortune is rather wont to prevaile then *Vertue*. But ^a*ibi grave eſt Bellum gerere, ubi nullus eſt Claſſi Portus apertus, non ager pacatus, non Civitas Socia, non conſiſtendi aut procedendi locus, quocunq; circumſpexeris hoſtilia ſunt omnia*; There 'tis a hard task to wage war, where there is no Port open for our Navy, the Countrey our enemy, no City our Confederate, no place to make a ſtand or to march out from, but whitherſoever a man looks, he can ſee nothing but hoſtile intentions

Advantage of Place and Party.
Advantage of Place.

^a *Livy lib. 22.*

againſt

against us. And this must be now our case, which was never our Ancestours.

A Party

found

made.

^a Math.
Paris in
vita H.3.

^b Math.
Par. vita
Hen.3.

^c Froissard.
d walsing-
ham.
T. Livius
Foroli-
piensis in
vita He.5.

Confede-
rates were
the onely
ground of
all the good
successe.

Advantage personall was either

Confede-
rates.

For the *Persons* considerable, they are the Subjects to our enemies, or our own Confederats. Of the first, our Kings heretofore did either work upon the opportunity of any dissension ministred, or by Pension & Reward either make a fraction in Obedience, or Neutrality in Assistance with the Subjects of their Adversary. The Duke of Burgundy, Earls of Britain, Dreux and others in France, offended with their Sovereign, ^a *Confederati erant Comiti Britannia Henrico & Regi Anglia*, became Confederates with Henry Earle of Britain and King of England; and thereupon drew him over into Britain. ^b The same King by yearly Pensions of 7000. l. kept divers in Poitou in fraction against their Lord and their own Loyaltie. Edward 3. had never undertaken the conquest of France, if ^c Robert de Artoys (displeased with the Sentence of Philip his Master for that Earldome) had not incited and complotted for him, as Godfrey of Harecourt did after. Nor Henry ^d 5. if the unsound memory of the French King, the jealousy of those Princes & Orleantial Faction had not made his way and Fortune.

THE Confederates our Kings held formerly for mutuall Aide were of such consequence in all their affairs,

fairs, that those so best strengthened atchieved ever the greatest and most glorious victories. As the first and 3^d. Edwards, the 5th. and 8th. Henries. Whereas Henry the sixth, that was of all the rest left most naked to himself, although the greatest otherwise in opportunity, lost all the purchase of his Ancestours in the end. It is not amisse in such a foundation of Greatness as Confederacy, to lay down successively, first, with whom we tied that knot of love; then, what were the motives or assurances; and lastly, whether the same in both is left to our occasions and will now or no.

Henry the first, but to assure his own possessions beyond Sea, ^a *adscivit in presidium Comitem Britannia, & Theobaldum Comitem Ble-sensem*, called to his aide the Earle of Britain, and Theobald Earle of Bloys.

Henry the second did the like with ^b Robert Earle of Flanders. And again ^c *cum Theodorico Comite Flandriae, Baronibus, Castellanis, & ceteris hominibus Comitibus*, with Theodorick Earle of Flanders, the Barons, Governours of Castles, and other the Subjects of the said Earle; who stood bound to serve him in *summonitione sua, sicut Domino, pro feodis quae de ipso tenent*, upon a summons, as well as their own Lord, for the Fees which they held of him.

Baldwin Earle of Flanders contracteth under Bond ^d *mutui subsidii, quod sine Rege Richardo Anglia non componeret cum Rege Francorum*, of mutuall aide, that he would not come to a agreement with the French King without Richard King of England. And the ^e Britains relieto Rege Francia Regi Richardo ad-

A list of all the Confederates from Hen. the firsts Reign to the end of the last Queen, Henry 2.

^a Ex Contract. orig. in Arch. Thes. west. ^b Ex Radulph. de Diceto.

^c Ex orig. signat. a Comite & Castellanis, in Thes. west.

Richard 2. ^d Ex Radulph. de Diceto.

^e Math. Paris 184.

hase-

heserunt, forsaking the King of France, did joyn with King Richard.

King John. Between King John ^a and the Earle of Flanders there was a Combination *mutui auxilii contra Regem Francorum*, of mutuall assistance against the French King. ^b The like with the City of Doway and Earle of Holland.

Henry 3. Henry 3. *an. 11.* drew ^c Peter Duke of Britany into Confederacy against the French; and ^d Fernand Earle of Flanders with a Pension annuall of 500. Marks. ^d And *anno 38.* Alfonso King of Castile combineth with him and his heirs *contra omnes homines in mundo*, against all the men in the World. To whom he remained so constant, that *an. 8.* and *10.* Edw. 1. he would not grant a Truce to the French King, but *ad preces & instantiam* at the instant suit of the King of England.

Edward 1. Edward 1. *an. 13.* ^e by a pretence of inter-marriage drew Florence Earle of Holland from the French to his party: ^f and the yeare following, by mediation of the Lord of Black-mont, the Earle of Flanders, who in *an. 20.* assisted him in the wars of Gascoign. ^h In the 22. he combined with Adolph King of the Romans, and the Earle of Gueldres; tying the Nobility of Burgundie with a yearly donative of 30000. *l.* *Turonensium* to aid him *contra Regem Francia*, against the French King. ⁱ He had Guido Earle of Flanders and Philip his son for 100000. *l.* *Turonensium* in pay against the French King, ^k retaining *an. 24, 25,* and *31.* of his Reign; ^k retaining the Earle of Gueldres by pay of 100000. *l.* ^l the Duke of Lorrain by 160000. *l.* ^l the Nobility of Burgundy by a Pension of 30000. *l.* and Wallerand Lord of Montay by 300. *l.* *Tu-*

ronen-

ronensium in his service the same yeare. ^a And ^a *Rot. Pat.*
in *an. 34. Reginaldum Comitem Montis Belliardi & alios de Burgundia contra Regem Francia, Reginald Earle of Mont-Belliard and other Burgundians against the King of France.* *an. 34. m. 24.*

Edward 2. had ^b *auxilium tam maritimum quam terrestre à Genoensibus*, assistance as well by Sea as by Land from the *Genoeses*. ^c And ^c *in an. 18. besides his Alliance with Flanders, John Protectour of Castile aideth him contra Gallos cum 1000. equitibus & peditibus, & Scutiferis 10000. against the French with 1000. horse and foot, and 10000 other armed men.* *Edward 2. b Rot. Vasco. an. 9. & 11. c Dors. Claus. an. 18. m. 7.*

Edward the 3. ^d had by the Marriage of *Philip*, the Earle of *Henault & Holland* her Father assured to him; and retained *John of Henault* and his Followers, ^e *qui venerunt in auxilium adrogatum Regis*, who came to assist the King at his call, with a Salary of *14000. l. yearly*. Before he adventured to avow and maintain his Challenge to the Kingdome of *France*, ^f he made ^f up to his partie *Lodowick the Emperour*, (who the better to countenance his enterprize, elected him *Vicarium Imperii*, Vicar of the Empire.) ^g *Reginald Earle of Geldres, Lewis Marquess of Brandenburg, Conrade Lord of Hard*, who served him with 50. men at *Armes*, the *Cardinall of Genoa* and his Nephew, who aided him with *Galleys*, the *Magistrates of Colen, Bruxells, Lorrain and Mechlin*, and ^h *Iaques de Arteville* head of the *Gantois Faction*; who having quitted all duty to the banished Earle, submitted themselves and most of *Flanders* to the service and protection of *Edward 3.* who to free them

Edward 3.
^d *Froissard.*

^e *Rot. libera 2. m. 6.*

^f *Rot. Alman. anno 11.*

^g *Rot. Antwer. anno 12.*

^h *Froissard.*

of

^a Ex Rot. Ant-
werp. an. 12.

^b Rot. Parl.
anno 14. n. 8.

^c claus. an. 18.
m. 25.

^d Dorf. claus.
an. 18. m. 20.

^e Dorf. claus.
an. 19. m. 14.

^f Froisard.

^g Rot. Pat.
an. 24. n. 8.

^h Ex originali
de anno 37. in
lib. Ro. Cotton.

ⁱ Ex orig. in
Thes. West. de
annis 37.

& 41.

^k Ex orig. sub
sigillo.

^l Ex Contract.
origin. in
Archiv. Thes.

Westm.

^m Claus. an. 1.
R. 2.

Richard 2.

of two Millions of Crowns, wherein, as a Caution of obedience to the Crown of France,^a they stood bound as well by Oath as Obligation, took upon him the Title of King of France, and employed John Duke of Brabant and Lorrain, William Marquess of Juliers, and the Earle of Henault and Holland, his assured Friends, Procuratores suos ad vendicandum Regnum Francie, his Procurators to claim the Crown of France. ^b These his Allyes not long after meeting him at Tournay with 100000. men, as Robert de Artoys did with 50000. at S. Omer's against the French King. And thus he attired and furnished his first enterprize, weaving into his Faction and support more and more, as often as either pretence or just occasions would give him leave. By ^c colour of Marriage he drew in the King of Sicilie in the 18th. year, the Duke of Millain, and the King of Castile for mutuall aide; and ^d Simon Butangre Duke of Genoa, and his Subjects for hire and reward. In the 19. yeare ^e the questionable Title of the Dutchie of Britain assured him of John de Montford; against whom the ^f French King maintained Charles de Eloys for that Dutchie. In an. 24. ^g he renewed the Contract with the Genoeses; and in 30. made a convention of Peace, & *mutui auxilium* Rege Navarra, and of mutuall aide, with the King of Navarre. In ^h the 37. with Peter King of Castile: and in that and 41. ⁱ an alliance of Aide and Amity he entred with the Duke of Britain: and an. 45. ^k again with the Genoeses and Lewis Earle of Flanders and Duke of Brabant: ^l and an. 46. with Ferdinand King of Portugall.

Richard the second reneweth ^m in an. 1. the con-

confederation that his Grandfather had with the Duke of Britain; and with whom anno 3. he contracted anew, as he had done anno 2. ^a Rot. Franc. with Lewis Earle of Flanders. In the 6. yeaere anno 2. he combineth with the Flemings ^c contra inimicos communes, against the enemies of them both; with ^d the Kings of Naples, Sicilie, Navarre and Arragon, de mutuis auxiliis, for mutual aide; & with Wenceslaus the Emperour contra Carolum Regem Francia & Robertum Regem Scotia, against Charles King of France, and Robert King of Scotland. In an. 8. ^f with the Kings of Ierusalem, Sicilie, & Portugall. In the 10. with Portugall, who at his own charges aided this King with 10. Galleys. And with William Duke of Gueldres de mutuis auxiliis, for mutuall aide. And an. 12. ^g 18. and 19. with Albert Duke of Bavaria. ^h And an. 20. with the Earle of Ostrenant de retinentiis contra Regem Francia, against the King of France. And Rupertus Count Palatine of the Rhene an. 20. became a Homager for term of life to this King.

Henry 4. entred alliance ⁱ of mutuall aid in 2. yeares with William Duke of Gueldres and Mons. ^k In the 12th. with Sigismond King of Hungaria. ^l And in the 13. by siding with the Factions of the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, layed the basis upon which his Son that succeeded reared the Trophies of his Renown.

For Henry the fifth going forward upon the Advantage left and daily offered, strengthened himself anno 4. ^m by a League perpetuall with Sigismond the Emperour; renewing that of Richard the 2. ⁿ with Iohn King of Portugall, as his Father had done. He entred a contract with

^a Rot. Franc.
^b Ex orig. in Thes.

^c Rot. Parl. anno 6. n. 11.

^d Ex Contract. in lib. Italico Rob. Cotton.

^e Rot. Francie anno 6. m. 28.

^f Rot. Franc. anno 12. m. 16

^g anno 18. & 19.

^h Rot. Franc. an. 12. m. 16.

ⁱ anno 18. & 19.

^k Rot. Franc. anno 20. m. 2.

^l Rot. claus. av. 2. Hen. 4.

^m Rot. Franc. anno 2. & 3.

ⁿ H. 4. m. 6. Henry 4.

^o Rot. Franc. anno 12. H. 4.

^p m. 21. Henry. 5.

^q Tho. Walsingham.

^r Ex Rot. Parl. anno 4.

^s Ex orig. in Thes. Westm.

^a *Ex chron.*

Roger Wall.

in villa H. 5.

anno 5. & 8.

^b *Ex instruct.*

orig. 31. Aug.

5. H. 5.

Henry. 6.

^c *Ex Contract.*

originali.

^d *Ex Tractat.*

Alrabatenfi.

^e *Ex tractat.*

Brugens. 1442

^f *Ex tractat.*

Callisæ 1445.

Ex tractat.

Bruxellensi

1446.

^g *Parl. an. 7.*

E. 4. n. 28.

Edward 4.

^h *Rot. Franc.*

anno 8. m. 22.

ⁱ *Ex contract.*

originali.

^j *Rot. Franc.*

an. 11. E. 4.

m. 7.

^k *Rot. Franc.*

an. 12. m. 22.

^l *Ex orig. in.*

Thes. westm.

with the Duke of Britain, and with the Queen of Ierusalem and Lewis her Son for the Dutchie of Anion and Mayn; and with the King of Portugall and Duke of Bavaria for supplie of men & Munition by them performed. ^a And the yeare before the battel of Agincourt sendeth the Lord Henry Scrope to contract with the Duke of Burgundie ^b & his Retinue for Wages in servitio suo in Regno Francia vel Ducatu Aquitania, in his service in the Kingdome of France, or the Duchy of Aquitain; esteeming the alliance of that house the readiest means to attaine his end.

Henry 6. ^c so long as he held the Amity of Britain (for which he contracted) and the confederacy of Burgundy, his friend of eldest assurance and best advantage, which he did to the 16th. yeare of his government, there was no great decline of his Fortune in France. But when Burgundy ^d brake the bond of our assurance, & betook him to the Amity of France, and dealt with this Crown but as a Merchant by way of intercourse, first at the Treaty of ^e Bruges 1442, then at ^f Callis 1446. the reputation and interest we held in France declined faster in the setting of this Son, then ever it increased in the rising of the Father.

And Edward the fourth who succeeded, sensible of this losse, wooed by all the means either of Intercourse or Marriage to winne again the house of Burgundy, ^g which in an. 7. he did, to joyn for the recovery of his right in France. ^h And drew in the yeare following the Duke of Britain to that Confederacy. In the ⁱ 11. yeare he renewed with Charles of Burgundie the bond of mutuall Aide; and contracted the next ^k yeare the like with the King of Portugal. And

And in an. 14. *pro recuperatione Regni Francie* ^{a Rot. Fran.} *contra Ludovicum Usurpantem*, for the recovery of the Kingdome of France out of the hands of Lewis the Usurper, (^a as the Record is) entered a new Confederacy with the Dukes of Burgundy and Britain; ^b And in the end wrought from them a round Pension of money, though he could not any portion of land

Henry the 7. ^c an. 5. & 6. entertaineth an Alliance with Spain against the French King. The like in the 8. with the King of Portugall: and in the 10. ^d with the house of Burgundy for Intercourse and mutuall Aide.

Henry the 8. in an. 4. ^e reneweth the Amity of Portugall; and the next yeare combineth with the Emperour Maximilian against Lewis the French King, who aideth him out of Artoys and Henault with 4000. horse and 6000. foot; whereupon he winneth Tournay, ^f *Consilio, Auxilio, & favoribus Maximiliani Imperatoris*, with the advice, assistance, and countenance of the Emperour Maximilian. In anno 7. ^g to weaken the French King, he entreth league with the Helvetian Cantons by his Commissioners Wingfield and Pace; and with ^h Charles of Spain for Amity and mutuall Aide: into which Maximilian the Emperour and Ioane of Spain ⁱ were received the yeare following. ^k In an. 12. with the Emperour Charles and ^l Margaret Regentesse of Burgundy he maketh a Confederation against Francis the French King, as the common enemy: ^m *quia Rex Anglia non possit ex propriis Subditis tantum equitum numerum congerere*, the King of England. could not furnish such a quantity of Horse of his own

Callis. anno 1521. ⁿ *Ex tract. orig. subscript. manu* Card. Ebor. & Margar. Regent, 24. August. 1521. ^o Subj

^a Ex tract.
Winfor. 1522.

^b Ex tract.
Cambrens.

1529.
^c Ex tract.
Ulirajettensi.

^d Ex tract. de
anno 1543.

Ex originali
dat. ultimo
Janu. 1547.

^e Ex instruct.
Rich. Morison
Edward 6.

^f Ex litera
Ducis Somers.
Magist. Pag.
1549.

^g Ex contract.
Matrimoniali
1554.

^h Ex tract.
Matr. 1559.

Queen Mary,
ⁱ Ex artic.
Subscript. à
Vidame de
Chartres
1562.

Elizabeth.
^k Ex fœder.
Trecensi. 1564

^l Ex tract.
Hlesensi.

Subjects, as was mentioned in the contract, the Emperour giveth leave that he levy them in any his Dominions in Germany. And the Pope in furtherance of this intendment interdicteth the French territories, calleth in aide *Brachii Secularis*, of the Secular power, ^a those two Princes; appointeth the Emperour *Protectorem & advocatum Ecclesie*, the Churches Advocate and Protectour; & stileth their Attempt *sancta expeditio*, an holy expedition. ^b And this is by the Treaty at Windfor the next yeare confirmed and explained. Renewing in the years ^c 21. 35. and 38. the association, and bond of mutuall aide with the same Princes, and against the French King, if he brake not off his Amity with the Turk.

And although ^a Edward the 6. in the first year of his Reign made the Contract between the Crown of England and the house of Burgundy perpetuall; ^c yet forbore he to aide the Emperour in the wars of France, disabled (as he pretended) by reason of the Poverty the troubles of Scotland had drawn upon him; ^f And therefore offered the Town of Bullen to the Imperiall protection.

During the Reign of Queen Mary, there was no other but that ^g of Marriage, Aide and Entercourse with the Emperour, Spain and Burgundy; ^h and besides that tripartite bond at Cambray of Amity and Neutrality.

Our late Renowned Mistris entertained with the Prince of Conde ⁱ about New-haven, and ^k with Charles the 9. 1564. & at ^l Bloys 1572. with the King of Navarre before the accession of the Crown of France to him, and after Britain, and lastly by the Duke of Bullen

^a in

in 96. And with the States of the *Nether-*
lands in the yeares 85. ^b and 98. divers Trea-
ties of Amity, Confederation and Assistance.

^a *Ex tracti.*
Londini.

1596.
^b *Ex tracti.*

By all these passages, (being all that well
either our Story or *Records* can discover) it ap-
peareth manifest the Kings of *England* never to
have undertaken, or fortunately entertained any
Forreign Enterprize without a party and con-
federate. Amongst which by situation, those
of best advantage to us have been the Dukes of
Britain, Lords of the *Netherlands*, the City of
Genoa, the kings of *Portugall* and *Spain*, & the
Empire, since knit into the house of *Burgundy*.

cum ordin.

Belgiæ de

annis 1585.

& 1598.

Confederats
of most be-
nefit to Eng-
land.

As for the remote and in-land Princes of
Germany, the Kings of *Denmark*, *Poland* and
Sweden, (so farre removed) I have seldome ob-
served that this *Crown* hath with them contra-
cted any League of Assistance or Confederacy,
but of Amity and Entercourse onely.

Princes whose
Confedera-
tion are of
least benefit.

IT remaineth to observe a little, what were the
reasons that first induced, and then preserved
the Affection and Alliances of these severall
Nations respectively to this Crown. The assu-
rance we had of the State of *Genoa* was their
Pensions and Traffique here. All which time by
equality of Neighbourhood they stood of them-
selves without any jealousy of Surprize. But as
soon as *Vicinum Incendium*, the fire began in
Millain, they put themselves into the protection
of *Spain*, foreseeing how dangerous it would
be for a weak State to stand *Neutrall*, accor-
ding to *Aristhenus* counsell to the *Ætolians*,
Quid aliud quam nusquam gratia stabili
præda victoris erimus? What else will become

Bonds of
Confedera-
tion cannot
be the same
they were
before. As
with the
State of
Genoa.

c Livy Dec. 4.

l. 2.

In Relatione
de Statu Ge-
noæ an. 1595.

Navarre.
Britain.

Burgundie.

of us, being in firm friendship with neither side, then to be made a prey to the Conquerour? Since which time *Spain* by estating *Doria*, *Grimaldi*, and the *Spinellos*, chief Families of that City, with great Patrimonies in *Naples*, retaining their Gallies in his perpetuall service and salary, the Inhabitants of all sorts in beneficiall Trade, and (no lesse in Policy to ingage that City, then to supply his own Wants) continually owing the wealthiest Citizens such vast summes of money, as the Interest of late exceeded ^a 25. Millions; hee hath tyed it more sure to the *Spanish* party, then if it were commanded by a *Cittadell*; so that it must ever now follow the faction and fortune of that Crown.

Navarre and *Britain* (while States of themselves) were so long firm to our Confederacy, as they were tyed with the bond of their own Calamity, occasioned by that power, which incorporating lately the one by Descent, the other by Contract, is by that Union and return of all the *Appennagii*, more potent now then ever it hath been under the House of *Capet*.

Burgundie was so long our friend, as either they were enriched by Staple of our Commodities, or had protection of our Swords against *France*, who not only claimed Sovereignty over most, but a proprietary interest in part; and therefore had reason to give aide and Armes to such a Confederate as did by a diverse war secure, and by particular Immunities enrich that State. But now growing into *Spain*, they need no such assurance in the one; and we almost undone by their draping of our wooll, (which is happily called home,) not able to return them the benefit of the other, cannot pre-
sume

sume upon any such assurance of their aide as heretofore.

Spain may seem to give us the best hope of a *Spain*, fast Confederate for 2. respects. *First*, for that he is absolute, and that we be equally devoid of demand, neither having against the other any Titles. *Next*, for that the entercourse of Trade is more reciprocall between us then *France*, and our Amity founded upon long love and old blood. To this may be made a two-fold answer, from the change of their Dispositions: *First*, for that they never assist any now, but to make themselves Master of their State. Thus ended they the strife between the Competitors of *Portugall*. And when they were called into *Naples* by the *Queen* against the *French*, they combined with her Adversary, and divided the Kingdome. And after upon the River of *Garrillon*, under their Leader *Gonsalves*, taking an advantage, they defeated the whole Army of the *French*, holding ever since that entire Kingdome themselves. For *Spain* will admit neither Equallity nor Fellowship, since upon Union of so many Kingdomes, and famous Discoveries, they begun to affect a fifth *Monarchie*. The other; that the late *hostilitie* between them and us hath drawn so much blood, as all formes of ancient Amity are quite washt away: and as *Paterculus* a faith of *Carthage* to *Rome*, so may a *Paterculus*, we of *Spain* to *England*, *Adeo odium Certaminibus ortum ultra metam durat, ut ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante inuisum esse desinet quam esse desiit*: The hatred begot by former quarrels doth endure so lastingly, that the very conquered party cannot forget it; & in such a case the very places must cease to be, before

fore the hatred and envy towards it can cease.

Dangers in
Confederacy
by diversity
of Ends.
Examples,
that ends
served, Con-
federates
quit all
bonds of
Combination
a *Matth Paris*
1242.

BESIDES these locall considerations, there will
2. other Dangers now fall out from any Con-
tract of mutuall aide: The one from diversity of
Intention, and the other of *Religion*. In the one,
when either the Confederate hath safely attain-
ed his own secret End, (whatsoever he pretend-
eth in the entrance,) he leaveth the other to
work out his own designs. Thus was *Hen. 3.*
served, called over by the Earls of *Tholouse*
and *March*; they in the mean time having
made their Peace with *France*: a *Et expertus*
jam infidem, imo perfidiam Pictavensium, tur-
piter recessit, & festinans non pepercit Calca-
ribus, in somuch that having found the treache-
ry and perfidiousness of the *Poitouvins*, he was
forced dishonourably to retreat, and for haste
to squire away; the perill the poore King was
left in being so great. He was handled like to
this by *Pope Alexander* the fourth, who having
drawn him into the warres of *Apulia* against
Manfred, in the end, *depanperato Regno*
Anglia, & *undique bonis suis spoliato*, his
Kingdome of *England* being impoverished,
and wholly despoiled of its Goods, left him
to his own shift. The King of *Navarre* calling
in the aide of *Edward 3.* b against *France*, and
appointing the Isle of *Gersey* the *Rendezvous* of
their forces, revolteth to the *French*, after
he had by countenance of that preparation
wrought his Peace. *Maximilian* the Empe-
rour to induce *Henry 8.* not onely contracteth
to aid him in person to recover the Crown of
France, & *pro tyrannico Rege repellendo*, and
to

b *Rot. Parl.*
anno 29. E. 3.
n. 6.

to remove the tyrannicall King, (they are the words of the League;) but conferreth upon him in the same *Coronam Imperialem & Imperium Romanum*, the Imperiall Crown and the Roman Empire in reversion; and estateth the Dutchie of Millain after recovery upon his person, & *suorum naturalium masculini sexus heredum, modo feodorum Imperialium*, and his heires male lawfully begotten, to hold in Fee of the Empire: yet in the close left the King to his own fortune, his turn for Millain and Verona served. Charles the fifth when by the incursion of the French he saw his portion in Italy distressed, in safety whereof consisted the whole Pulse of the Spanish, (as he used himself to say,) for it supplied his Army with great Levies, and was fitly seated for a fifth Monarchy; he then ingaged Hen. 8. in the wars of France, and bound himself (as Bourbon his Confederate) that he would assist him to the full Conquest of that Kingdome, and the other should become Homager to Hen. 8. as to his Sovereign. But after that Bourbon had advanced his Army and distressed the French King, he in his answer to Master Pace the Kings Ambassador refused that assurance of duty, and gave a just suspition, that he by help of his Party intended to usurp upon that State himself, which the Emperour never meant to the King of England; least by such footing in France, he might grow so great Suspecting as to give law to his neighbours. And to fall off that an Allie upon such grounds hath ever been excusable, may grow too howsoever the bonds of Alliance were. Thus great, dissolveth alliance did Hen. 8. as often change his hand of help, as either Princes of Spain & France got ground of the other. And the Spaniard now, to keep the States

Liv, lib. 34.

States in *Italie* disunited, compoundeth differences at his pleasure, or taketh part with the weaker, not suffering any, though his own dependant, to grow too strong: which was lately seen in patronizing the *D. of Mantua* against *Savoy*, according to the Rule of *Quinctius* in *Livy*, *Non tantum interest Aetolorū opes minui*, it doth not stand us so much in hand to break the strength of the *Aetolians*, (yet they were enemies,) *quantum, non supra modum Philippum crescere*, as it doth to see that *Philip* grow not too potent, who was their friend.

The difference in *Religion* may bring likewise a twofold danger. The one with our Confederates, the other with the Subjects of this Crown.

For whensoever we shall attempt upon a *Catholick Prince*, as *France*, where we have the fairest pretences, for with any other we are like to have no question; then is all Contract of mutuall aide left to the election of our

Danger
by dif-
ference
in Reli-
gion, in
respect
of the

Confederates, who

May
break
by dis-
pen-
sation,
though
both
Catho-
licks.

Confederate, who may with all eagerness procure from the See of *Rome* a discharge of all Contracts, although they were by Oath. For if in Leagues where either party have been *Catholicks*, as that between *Edward 3.* and *John King of France*, & that between *John of Gaunt* and the King of *Castile*; they ever out of such suspect inserted this Clause, That neither side should procure *dispensationem*, &c. either *per Ecclesiam Romanam, vel per aliquam aliam*, a Dispensation either

either by the Church of Rome, or any other way, to do *contra formam Tractatus*, contrary to the form of Agreement: how much more must their *jealousie* be to us? And therefore in a Consultation in *Henry* the 8th. time, a whether with best security we should confederate with *France* or *Spain*, it was resolved that either of them may slip off their advantage by colour of our Separation from the Church of *Rome*, if there be no better hold in their Honesties then in their Bonds. For it will be held not onely worthy dispensation, but merit to break all Leagues with the enemies of that Church, by the Doctrine of that See; which teacheth all Contracts with any *Catholick* Prince to be *instanti* dissolved, because we are by them ranked in the list of *Hereticks*: which holds proportion with the Rule and Direction that *Urban* the sixth sent by *Bull* to *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, and *Charles* then *Emperor*, (before the Council of *Constance*,) declaring all Confederations, Leagues and

^a *Ex original. in manu Domini Cromwell.*

Doctrine of the See of Rome touching leagues with Hereticks.

^b *Ex Bulla origin. sub sigillo Urbani 6. an. pont. 4.*

Con-

ought to break out of the Rom. doctrine, one accounted heretick.

Confederates, who

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the

Danger
by dif-
ference
in Reli-
gion, in
respect
of the

Confederates, who

Ought
to break
out of
the
Rom.
doctrine,
one ac-
counted
heretick

Conventions to be *Lege Divina temeraria, illicita, & ipso jure nulla, etiamsi forent fide data firmata, aut Confirmatione Apostolica roborata*, to be by the Law of God invalid, void, and in law null, although confirmed by the plighting of faith, nay though strengthened by confirmation Apostolicall, if the parties were *separata ab Unitate sancta Ecclesie*, separate from the Unity of Holy Church, when the league was made; or, *si postea sint effecti*, if they become so after. What assurance can there then be, either with *France*, who is received, by his *Rebenediction*, into the Bosome of the Church, and his sonne made *Adoptivus Filius Ecclesie*, an adopted Son of the Church; or against him with *Spain*, who being *Protector* and *Champion* of that See *Apostolick*, submitteth himself (as he hath ever done) to the Popes pleasure and designe, and must not onely forsake, but aide against us in any warre we should there undertake?

Be-

Besides it is considerable, how- Subjects ob-
 soever all sides of our own will dient to the
 joyn in point of defence to a mu- Popes Cen-
 tuall aide; whether they will so in sure a dange-
 a forraign Invasion; (especially rous Party.
 when the party assailed shall be
 of their own Religion.) For when
 the Interdiction of the Pope could
 draw against *John King of En-*
gland & Lewis the 12. a side of ^{a Ex Eulogio}
 their own Subjects, (as it did after ^{Hist.}
 in the same Kingdome against
Hen. 3. though all 3. conformable
 in points of Religion to that See;)
 how much more will it work with
 the people devoted to their opini-
 ons in a State divided from their
 obedience? For amongst us the
 Subjects, *Catholick Church* hath many *Ie-*
suites to raise Faction, and divert
 people from duty; the *Recusants*
 many, and *Malecontents* not
 few; all which with warre will
 discover themselves, but now by
 this happy calm unassured of assi-
 stance, lock up their riches in secu-
 rity, & their hearts in silence. And
 therefore by any enterprize, it is
 not with the rule of *Seneca* safe,
concutere felicem statum. For
 provoking of some adversary in
 respect of Papall protection, they
 pick advantage to ground a quar-
 rel of Religion: & then the *sancta*
Expedicio, the holy expedition a-
 gainst *Lewis*, will be made *Bellū*
Sacrum, a holy Warre against us.

Danger
by dif-
ference
in Reli-
gion, in
respect
of the

Subjects.

But admitting no lesse then in former times an easiness to attempt; it is not a meditation unnecessary to think in generall of the dangers and impossibilities to retain. For first we must more then transgress *Limites quos posuerunt Patres*, the Bounds which our Fathers owned;

Et penitus toto d'visos orbe Britannos,

And Britans from the world wholly divided; and relinquish that defence of Nature, wherewith she hath incircled, divided, and secured us from the whole world;

a *Festus A-*
menus.

(*a* *Te natura potens Peiago divisit ab omni Parte orbis, tuta ut semper ab hoste fores.*

From all the Earth Nature hath parted thee With Seas, and set thee safe from Enemy.)

Danger of
large Fron-
tiers.

and commit our Frontiers (had we never so much upon the next Continent) to the protection of an Army, which besides the continuall Charge, if we give Ambitious and able Commanders, (as unable for our Interest we will not,) how ready shall it be in such a Leader, and backt, if he please, to give Law to his own countrey? For Trifles will be quarrels good enough for such as can make them good by Power; And whensoever means and Ambition leads any to trouble the State, he will be sure to colour his pretext with honest Titles. *b* *Alii, sicuti Iura populi defenderent; Pars, quo Senatus autoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes:* some declaring to maintain the rights of the People, others to uphold the authority of the Senate, all pretending to act for the publick good. Hence was it that *Augustus* *c* refused to add any more of the Barbarous Nations to the body of his Empire, which with great facility he might have done; *d* and to restrain that infinite and unsafe desire of

b *Salust. in*
Bello Catil.

c *Suetonius*
in vita Au-
gusti.

d *Dion Cassius*

en-

enlarging, left in Charge to his Successors that
 especiall point of advice, ^a *coercendi intra Ter-* ^a *Tacitus.*
minos Imperii, to keep the Empire within due
 & fitting bounds. The like moderation from the
 same ground was in the late *Queen*, who refused
 the sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, ^b so often ^b *Ex proposit.*
 and earnestly offered to her, fore-seeing well, that *Statuum de*
 as her State should grow more respective by ad- *anno 1585.*
 dition of People, and augmentation of Territory;
 so Factions and Discontents (a common acci-
 dent in worldly affaires) would arise from super-
 fluity. Besides, the State that may best admit in- *What State*
 crease is that, unto which addition may be on *may best ad-*
 every part indifferently. Such was the advantage *mit addition.*
 of *Rome*, by being situate in the midst of *Eu-*
rope: whereas we are thrust out of the world; to
 which we have no other contiguity, then an un-
 sure element of fluxible foundation, the Sea, sub-
 ject to tempest, contrariety of wind, and more
 commodious for a potent enemy to intercept, then
 our selves to secure. For how large soever any
 Kingdome is, all great directions move from one
 place, commonly from one man, as the Heart in
 the Body. It is therefore necessary that the seat
 be so placed, that as well Intelligence as Dispatch
 may safely passe with indifferency and assured
 Speed: And those Forms are most quick and
 easy in motion, whose extremes are all equally
 distant from the Centre; for the more different
 from the Circle, the more slow and hard. *Rome*
 may sufficiently example this: For so long as the
Orbe of that Empire so moved about her, all
 things kept on their course with order, and ease;
 but after the Seate was by ^c *Constantine* removed ^c *Zozimus in*
 to an extremity of the Circle, it stood a while still, *vita Con-*
 and in the end dissolved. For either through the *stantini,*
 masse

But admitting no lesse then in former times an easiness to attempt; it is not a meditation unnecessary to think in generall of the dangers and impossibilities to *retain*. For first we must more then transgress *Limites quos posuerunt Patres*, the Bounds which our Fathers owned;

Et penitus toto d'visos orbe Britannos,

And *Britans* from the world wholly divided; and relinquish that defence of Nature, where-with she hath incircled, divided, and secured us from the whole world ;

a *Festus A-*
menus.

(*a Te natura potens Pelago divisit ab omni Parte orbis, tuta ut semper ab hoste fores.*

From all the Earth Nature hath parted thee With Seas, and set thee safe from Enemy.)

Danger of
large Fron-
tiers.

and commit our Frontiers (had we never so much upon the next Continent) to the protection of an Army, which besides the continuall Charge, if we give Ambitious and able Commanders, (as unable for our Interest we will not,) how ready shall it be in such a Leader, and backt, if he please, to give Law to his own countrey? For Trifles will be quarrels good enough for such as can make them good by Power; And whensoever means and Ambition leads any to trouble the State, he will be sure to colour his pretext with honest Titles. *b Alii, sicuti Iura populi defenderent; Pars, quo Senatus autoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes:* some declaring to maintain the rights of the People, others to uphold the authority of the Senate, all pretending to act for the publick good. Hence was it that *Augustus* *c* refused to add any more of the Barbarous Nations to the body of his Empire, which with great facility he might have done; *d* and to restrain that infinite and unsafe desire of
en-

b Salust. in
Bello Catil.

c Suetonius
in vita Au-
gusti.

d Dion Cassius

enlarging, left in Charge to his Successors that
 especiall point of advice, ^a *coercendi intra Ter-* ^a *Tacitus.*
minos Imperii, to keep the Empire within due
 & fitting bounds. The like moderation from the
 same ground was in the late *Queen*, who refused
 the sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, ^b so often ^b *Ex proposit.*
 and earnestly offered to her, fore-seeing well, that *Statuum de*
 as her State should grow more respective by ad- ^{anno 1585.}
 dition of People, and augmentation of Territory;
 so Factions and Discontents (a common acci-
 dent in worldly affaires) would arise from super-
 fluity. Besides, the State that may best admit in- ^{What State}
 crease is that, unto which addition may be on ^{may best ad-}
 every part indifferently. Such was the advantage ^{mit addition.}
 of *Rome*, by being situate in the midst of *Eu-*
rope: whereas we are thrust out of the world; to
 which we have no other contiguity, then an un-
 sure element of fluxible foundation, the Sea, sub-
 ject to tempest, contrariety of wind, and more
 commodious for a potent enemy to intercept, then
 our selves to secure. For how large soever any
 Kingdome is, all great directions move from one
 place, commonly from one man, as the Heart in
 the Body. It is therefore necessary that the seat
 be so placed, that as well Intelligence as Dispatch
 may safely passe with indifferency and assured
 Speed: And those Forms are most quick and
 easy in motion, whose extremes are all equally
 distant from the Centre; for the more different
 from the Circle, the more slow and hard. *Rome*
 may sufficiently example this: For so long as the
Orbe of that Empire so moved about her, all
 things kept on their course with order, and ease;
 but after the Seate was by ^c *Constantine* removed ^c *Zozimus*
 to an extremity of the Circle, it stood a while still, ^{vita Con-}
 and in the end dissolved. For either through the ^{stantini,}
 masse

masse of Business, the limitedness of any mans sufficiency, or impossibility to consider all due Circumstances but in *re presenti*, there must fall out infinite defects in the directions. Or if none, either by reason of Distance they come too late, or if not, by reason of Remoteness, he who is to execute will be bolder with his Instructions then is fit for a Minister to be. How dangerous is it then by addition of Territories for our Master, *a Alterum pene Imperio nostro & suo quarenti Orbem*, whilest he is seeking to joyn another world, in a manner, to his and our Empire, to alter either the settled order of directions, or walls of our securitie. Besides, as in the Frames of Nature *Anima rationalis*, the rationall soul cannot *informare*, give life, sense, or discourse to the matter of an *Elephant* or a *Fly*; (or any other body disproportionable to a Form so qualified:) so is there as well a bound of amplitude and strictness wherein the soul of Government is comprised; *b* Between which extremes there are many degrees of Latitude, some approaching to the greatest (that nature seldome or never produceth) some to the least, and some to the mean; beyond which proportions respectively though some may have a will to effect, they never can have a power to attaine. And this we may see in the former accession of so much to us in *France*, which we could never either with Profit or Assurance retain, being gotten by Conquest, and but tacked to by Garrison, contrary to the nature of Hereditary *Monarchies*. For some Kingdomes (in which number this may be accounted) are of the same condition that *Demosthenes* *c* maketh the *Athenians*: *Non ea vestra ingenia sunt, ut ipsi aliis vi oppressis Imperia teneatis; sed in eo magna sunt*

a Velleius Paterculus. de Expeditione Caesaris.

b Bodin. de Repub. lib. 6.

c Ex orat. Demosthenis. ad Athenienses.

sunt vires vestrae, ut alium potiri principatu prohibeatis, aut potitum exturbetis; It is not your way, violently to oppress other States and seize the Government; but in this is your strength manifest, that you can hinder another from possessing the Government, or when he is possessed of it, throw him out again. Since then by *Situation* and *Power* we are the fittest, either to combine or keep severall the most potent and warlike Nations of the *West*, it is the best for *Safety*, and the most for *Honour*, to remain as we were, *Arbiters* of *Europe*, and so by *Neutralitie* sway still the Ballance of our mightiest Neighbours: which by holding of our hands, and onely looking on, we shall easily do, since *Spain* and *France* hang so indifferently, that a little weight will cast the Beam; imploying ours, as *Claudius* did his Forces in a *Germanie*, *ut subsidio victis, Victoribus terrori essent, ne forte elati Pacem turbarent,* to assist the Conquered party, and to over-awe the Victor, lest he should be puffed up with pride, and disturb our peace. Thus did *Hen. 8.* with the *French* and *Spanish* Princes, using as his *Motto* of Honour and Power this, *Cui adhæreo præest,* He rules whom I stick to. And the late *Queen* studied rather how to guard her Allies, then to enlarge her Dominions, multiplying her Leagues more by giving then receiving gratuities; winking at her own wrongs, rather then willing to revenge. And (as the great Mistris of the world once) did what rather became her Greatness, then what severity of Armes required. Hence were her Seas for the most part freed from Pirates, and her Land here cleared of Enemies. For according to *Micipsae's* counsell to *Jugurth*, *Non exercitus, neque Thesauri præsidia*
Regni

Safetie in
Neutralitie.

^a Tacitus &
Dion Cassius.

Honour attained by
Neutrality,
in being the
Arbiter of all
differences
between the
mightiest
Neighbours.
a Froisard.
b Ex Regist.
& libris Tr-
statuum.

c Ex Demost.
d Philip.

Regni sunt; Neither Armyes nor Treasure are the safety of a Kingdome: but such Allies as neither Armes constrain, nor monyes purchase, *sed officio & fide pariuntur*. And since by fortune of the times succeeding, this State hath grown more upon Opinion then Deed, and that we know *Magis fama quam vi stare res nostras*, that our affairs stand rather by Fame then Force; it is most safe, neither to discover weakness, nor hazzard losse by any attempt. Besides, standing as we do no waies obnoxious by Site to any of our neighbours, they will alwaies be ready to referre the judgement & order of their differences to us. As the *a Brabanters* and *Henowayes* to the Arbitrement of Edward the third: and *b Charles* the fifth and *Francis* the French King the decision of their quarrel to Henry the eighth. Thus every part shall woe us, all Princes by their Oratours shall resort unto us, as to the Common *Consistorie* of judgement in their debates, and thereby add more to our Reputation then any power of our own. For as well in States as in Persons, Suitours are an infallible token of Greatness; which *Demosthenes* *c* told the *Athemans* they had lost, since none resorted to their *Curia* or *Pratorium*. By this way shall we gain the Seat of Honour, Riches, and Safety; and in all other but endlesse Expence, Tronble and Danger.

Robert Cotton Bruceus.

F I N I S.

THE
F R E N C H
C H A R I T Y:

W R I T T E N

In *French* by an *English* Gentleman,
upon occasion of Prince *Harcourt's*
coming into *ENGLAND*;

And translated into English by F. S. J. E.



L O N D O N,

Printed for *William Shears*, at the Bible in
S. Paul's Church-yard, Anno 1655.

100

t

t

n

t

l

r

f

s

c

h

n

t

c

h

n

t

c

h

n

t



THE FRENCH CHARITY.

Although we see that naturall causes produce sometimes contrary effects, that the Sun which draws up the Clouds can also scatter them, that the same Wind both lights and blow's out the taper, that Vipers serve for wholesome medications, and Scorpions carry about them an Antidote to their own poison : it is not so nevertheless in morall and politick affairs, wherein that which is once ill, is alwayes accounted such ; from whence is begot in us that quality which we call Experience, whereby wise men are accustomed to judge of present and future actions by those that are past. Which is the foundation whereupon all Monarchies and Republicks have established the Maxims of their subsistence, and found out both what they ought to follow and what to avoid.

THE FRENCH

The Charity which France hath testified to pacify our differences is so great that it is become incredible, so unseasonable that it is suspected, and so contrary to their former proceedings that it is quite otherways understood. Philosophers say, we cannot passe from one extremity to another without some mean; I cannot see by what steps they are come to this perfect goodness, nor what good Genius can have made them in an instant so good friends of such dangerous neighbours to us. I will passe my censure upon nothing, yet let me have the liberty to judge of all. I find so great a wonder in this change, that I find a conflict in my self to believe it. It is no common marvell, that those who have for so long a time beheld all Europe in a flame, and could not be moved by the blood and destruction of so many people to cast thereon one drop of water, should now have their bowells so tender as to compassionate the dissensions arising in a corner of the world which hath alwayes bin fatal to them; That those who have made it their chiefeſt interest to divide us, should now make it their glory to reunite us; That those who place their rest in our troubles, should now apply their cares for our repose; and that after

after they have cast us down headlong, they should reach us a plank for to come ashore. Let the wise Reader here (whilst I determine nothing) allow me at least a little distrust; it is the Mother of Safety. The Trojans, who could not be overcome by Armes, perish't by a pledge of peace. All the French civilties are faire and good; but in the bottome

Quicquid id est, timeo Gallos, & dona ferentes.

Let us see what reasons can oblige them to interest themselves so passionately in our agreement. Is it Religion? surely no; for that which they professe is contrary to that of this Kingdome; and the little Charity they have for their own, ought not to perswade us that they have much for ours. Is it for the inclination they have to peace? surely no; for if they esteemed it a benefit, they would seek it first for themselves. It is perhaps for an acknowledgement of their obligations to us in the late warres, and for the assistance we gave to those of Rochel. I, this would be truly Christian indeed, to render us good for evill. They will say that they are the bands of blood and parentage, which bind them to the Queen; and yet they have let the Mother beg her subsistence

THE FRENCH

stence and retreat among strangers, which she could not find with them, and having beheld her without pitty and succour in her greatest extremities, they advise to offer her a remedy upon the declining of her ill. But if this be the reason of their admittance, I conceive them no lawfull nor indifferent Mediators, since they are so much concern'd in one of the parties. They will whisper us in the eare, that the designe is to pacify us, and to ingage us in a league with them against the Spaniard; although at the same time they designe Ambassadors for Munster to endeavour a peace with him. O, we should wrong them very much to believe it, though they might seem in an humour to desire it of us; They are too gallant spirited to pretend it, they know that we are better advised then to serve them to pull their Chesnut out of the fire; that a body recovering health from a long sicknesse ought not to expose it self to a violent agitation; that the State will find it self loaden with debts, and the Subject exhausted by Contributions; that we ought to preferre the evident profit of traffick before the uncertain vanity of a conquest; that Jealousies being not yet removed, nor amulations suppress'd, all kind of arming would be suspected by

by the State, fearing least some under pretense of a forrain warre might study private revenge, or the oppression of the publick liberty; & that in the end it will be our gain to see them deal with Spain, and to make our advantage of their troubles, or not to meddle at all with them, unlesse by adding secretly (according to the revolution of affairs) a little weight to them that shall be found the lighter. If then it be none of these motives, it remains that it must be either Generosity, or deceit. O Generosity (that hast so long since withdrawn thy self to heaven, there to keep company with the faire Astræa, or rather, who wer't buried in France in the Sepulchre of Monsieur Gonin) is it possible that thou shouldst be risen again, or that France should have recall'd thee with her exiles since the death of her King; and that the first labour she should put thee to should be in favour of England, against whom but few dayes since she shewed such violent resentments, for an offence received by a pretended violation of the treaties which had past between us? Truly if it be she, we must reverence her with extraordinary respects; but before we give her the Honours due unto her, we must know her, for feare of Idolatry in

THE FRENCH

adoring her masque for her self, or embracing a cloud in stead of a Goddesse. Let us give a thrust with our launce into the Trojan horse, to see if there be no ambush within.

In walking lately with some French Gentlemen (as this nation is free enough of their discourse) a word escaped from one of the company without making reflexion (as I think) of what Countrey I was, That amongst their Prophets there was one which said, That the Conquest of England was promised to their young King. This thought cast into the aire though inconsiderately, seemed to me very considerable; and having given me an occasion to reflect upon all things both past and present, it served me as a light to guide me in the obscurity of this Labyrinth, upon which before I had reasoned but superficially. From thence being returned to my lodging, I opened accidentally a book of Monsieur de Rohan, intituled The interest of the Princes of Christendome, and I fell presently upon a passage where he said, That one of the surest wayes to make ones self Master of a State, is to interpose and make himself arbiter of its differences. I had no need of any other Oedipus to expound to me the riddle of the Prophecy, these first motives of suspicion
having

having cast me into more profound thoughts, I revolved in my mind how France had managed the whole business, both before & since the beginning of our troubles, and weighed all the circumstances of this Ambassage. Why such a solemn Ambassage in a time when all things seem most exasperated and furthest from accommodation? Why then not sooner, while differences were not yet irreconcilable between the two parties? Why such a warlike Prince, who is not experienced in the affaires of this Kingdome, to manage a negotiation of a peace the most nice and intricate that the world at this time affords? Why at the same time levying of Souldiers in Normandy, when all the other troops are in their quarters? Why therefore should they supply one of the parties with mony, when they come to act the persons of mediators; if not to cast wood and oyle into the flame? Why at the same time an Agent in Scotland, who propounds to them openly a League with France? Why begin they onely to turn their cares upon England, when they are upon the point of concluding a peace with Spain? May not we well judge that it is to prepare themselves for a new employment? since they themselves confesse that their boiling and unquiet temper hath
need

THE FRENCH

need of continuall exercise , and that the onely means to prevent troubles at home , is continually to furnish them with matter whereupon to evacuate their choler abroad. Why doth onely France afford us this so suddain and unexpected Charity , after all the fresh wounds which bleed yet among them because of the expulsion of the Capuchins , after the continuall cares she hath taken for so many years to lay the foundation of our troubles by the secret negotiations of the Marquis of Blainville, by the intrigues of the Cardinal of Richelieu with Buckingham , by the long plots in Scotland, and by the open sollicitations of the Marquis de la Fert? by all which they sometimes incited the Kings ministers to make him independent and absolute, offering to that purpose their assistance, and anone they sollicited the States to shake off the yolk of servitude , finally they transformed themselves into a thousand different shapes, till having plunged us deep enough in the gulf, they then call back their Ambassage, to give in appearance some satisfaction to the King , but in truth because his commission was expired. May not we well conclude from all this, that they will now reape the fruits they have so carefully sown and cultivated amongst us ?

From

From these considerations falling insensibly on those of England, what need (said I in my self) have we of the intermeddling of strangers? are they more versed in our interests than our selves? can they afford more expedients? are they more sensible of our miseries than those that suffer them? Is it to exhort us, or to constrain us? the first is superfluous; the second dangerous. It must needs be that either in the one case they think to go beyond us in wit, or in the other to master us by force. If peace be profitable for us, have we any need either of a Master to make us know our advantage, or of an Oratour to perswade us to it? If it be hurtfull to us, we ought to give them thanks for their advice, but follow that which is better. If the peace be feasible, why should we leave the glory of it to others? if impossible, why loose time in making vain propositions? why should we acquaint strong and ambitious neighbours, and trust the Philistins with the secret of our force? Must England, that hath in times past compelled France to purchase peace, be now constrained to beg it of her? that one of the most considerable and flourishing Monarchies of the world should serve for matter of sport to the vanity of the French, and be the first upon whom

THE FRENCH CHARITY.

whom they exercise the Title they give themselves of being Arbiters of Christendome? What Counsel then shall we follow in this encounter? That of good and wise Nature, who having separated us from all other Nations by a vast and deep trench, silently teacheth us, that the principle of our subsistence is in our selves, and that we ought not to submit our government to the arbitrement of others.

|||

F I N I S.

-
?
-
o
a
t
s
-